

THE
PUBLIC CHARACTERS
OF
EUROPE;

CONTAINING
THE LIVES

OF ALL
THE EMINENT MEN
NOW LIVING,

WHO HAVE PERFORMED CONSPICUOUS PARTS IN THE POLITICAL
TRANSACTIONS OF THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

FORMING A COMPLETE
History of the Late War.

BY FRANCIS GIBBON, ESQ.

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS
OF THE
Most Distinguished Personages.

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Louis 18th

PUBLIC CHARACTERS,

&c.

Memoirs of the Public Life

OF

LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH,

KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

THE restoration of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France, after a proscription of more than twenty years, is an event of such unexampled magnitude, that, for ages to come, it cannot fail to excite the particular attention of mankind: the misfortunes of this illustrious House have been of the deepest cast, and have been shared, more or less, by all its members; and, when all hope of their termination seemed absolutely to have fled for ever, a revolution, as unexpected as it was sudden, has again restored them to those rights which their birth and fortune give them a claim to. In the Memoirs of Louis the Eighteenth it is impossible to separate his life from those events which gave birth to the great and unexampled misfortunes of his family; nor should we be doing justice to our own feelings, if we were to omit the opportunity which his Memoirs afford of describing the history of a revolution the most momentous in history, which has no example in the annals of the world, and whose consequences will be felt, in all human probability, at a period as remote as the imagination can reach: for it is not in France alone, that the effects of this great political convulsion are felt, its influence has extended in every direction; and, however much its immediate consequences are to be deplored, it cannot be concealed that many excellent and beneficial results have sprung out of it.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier, King of France and Navarre, was born on the 17th of November 1755, and was soon after created Count de Provence. His father, who was Dauphin of France, and son of Louis XV. died before he inherited the throne; his first son, therefore, the unfortunate Louis XVI. and brother to his present Majesty, inherited his claims. During his brother's reign, his present Majesty, according to the established custom of the French monarchy, was styled *Monsieur*, as being the next brother to the King. At the time he arrived at the age of manhood, the court of France was distinguished by all that corruption of manners which ages of refinement had given birth to; but, in all the voluptuousness of the times, Louis XVIII. was remarkable for the strictness of his morals and his temperate habits. In this respect he formed a striking contrast to his younger brother the Count d'Artois, who gave himself up freely to all the pleasures of the court. This remarkable difference between the habits of the two brothers, we are told, produced a shyness between them, which was greatly increased by their matrimonial connexions; for having married sisters, *Madame* was extremely jealous and uneasy in having no family, while the Countess d'Artois was the mother of a most promising one. The clouds and misfortunes which hung over their house, however, produced a different effect than could be given by days of prosperity; and, whatever little differences and jealousies might subsist between the branches of this illustrious family, they soon gave way to a sense of common danger, arising from the turbulence of factions, and the storms that were thickly gathering around them.

It is here that we intend to investigate the causes, and to describe the progress, of that extraordinary revolution which terminated so fatally to the illustrious brother of the subject of our present biography, and so destructive to the best and dearest interests of the Bourbon family. A long train of oppression, for a considerable period before the accession of Louis XVI. had prepared the French people to shake off the yoke of domestic tyranny. For a long time France had been governed by an aristocracy, whose various members were feebly united by the authority of a succession of kings destitute of power or influence. The nobles enjoyed privileges, nothing short of



Duke of Berry.

of royal, within their own territories: they made peace and war; they coined money; were judges in the last resort; held their vassals as slaves, whom they bought and sold with their lands: and the inhabitants of cities, though freemen, were depressed and poor, depending for protection on some neighbouring baron; at least, such was their condition till, through the progress of the arts, the cities had acquired considerable importance, when their inhabitants, with such freemen of low rank as resided in the country, were considered as entitled to a representation in the States-General, or general assembly of the nation, under the appellation of the *Tiers Etat*, or *Third Estate*, the clergy being the first, and the nobility the second. Such was the origin of that order, so distinguished and conspicuous in the first years of the French revolution. Both clergy and nobles were exempted from all taxation, the whole burden of which consequently fell on the labouring and industrious class of the community. Next to the nobility, in point of importance, were the parliaments, consisting of large bodies of men, appointed as courts of law, for the administration of justice. The members purchased their places, and held them for life; whence arose the most flagrant corruption and perversion of right.

The sovereigns having become despotic, the meetings of the States-General were laid aside. But, notwithstanding the vast assumption of power by Louis XI. the kingdom was never consolidated, but consisted of various provinces, each governed by peculiar laws. After the assembling of the States-General had grown into disuse, the parliaments acquired a degree of political importance, and frequently checked the power of the crown in refusing to register the royal edicts, without which they were of no force. This rendered them very popular, and induced Louis XV. to abolish them, and his successor, from an opposite motive, to restore them, early in his reign.

Such was the state of France, when the unhappy Louis XVI. ascended the throne. The commons, as we have hinted, bore all the burden of taxation, and were, besides, dreadfully oppressed by the higher orders. An expensive and dissipated court; an army of 200,000 men to be maintained in time of peace, and double that
number

number during war, a great marine establishment, public roads, works, &c. were all exclusively supplied by their labours; and, to make the evil greater, the revenues were leased out to farmers-general, who accumulated immense fortunes by the most cruel exactions, under the sanction of the revenue laws, the enactment of which they obtained at pleasure. And while the commons thus suffered, all ranks were kept in a state of continual terror, by the Bastille and *Lettres de Cachet*. The system of *espionage* was carried to its utmost extent, and such a host of spies were dispersed every where by the court police, that no man was safe.

Among the immediate causes that led to this extraordinary revolution, may be recited, in addition to the foregoing, the decided part taken by the French court in favour of the Americans, and the spirit of freedom imbibed among them by the French soldiers, and by them brought back to Europe; the various changes in the French ministry; the public discontents, on account of the dismissal of M. Necker; the failure of the Caisse des Escomptes; the low state of the French funds; the assemblage and dismissal of the *Notables*; the exile and recal of the Parliament of Paris, and their spirited remonstrance, which led to the restoration of the States-General. To these we may add the general diffusion of political, philosophical, and infidel writings, by the first geniuses of the age, who levelled their wit equally at the pulpit and the throne, and thus unloosed the religious and political prejudices of the people, and destroyed the common bonds of society.

Meantime, all ranks were jealous of each other; the inferior clergy, excluded from preferment, envied their superiors, and were ready to join the laity in any commotion. The inferior provincial nobility, also, despised the vices of the courtiers; and the higher nobility wished to reduce the power of the crown. The lawyers, excluded from becoming judges, wished for a change, and actually were the most active supporters of the revolution.

To add to the general discontent, an extraordinary storm of uncommonly large hail, or rather pieces of ice, destroyed the crop of 1788, at a moment when the general scarcity throughout Europe prevented the neighbouring

ing nations from furnishing a supply adequate to the wants of the French people, under such a calamity. Thus the year 1789 commenced in the midst of uncommon political and commercial anxiety and distress. The commons demanded equal taxation, the abolition of *lettres de cachet*, and, in short, a constitution similar to the British. The minister, M. Necker, as well as the king, wished, through their means, to abridge, if not to overturn, the overgrown and oppressive privileges of the higher orders; and, in this situation of affairs, the States-General were convoked, by royal authority, after a sequestration of 175 years.

The *lettres de cachet*, alluded to, were private letters, or mandates, issued under the royal seal, for the apprehension of individuals, who had rendered themselves suspected by the court; and who were, in consequence, generally immured in the Bastille, without trial, and were very seldom heard of afterwards.

The States were summoned to meet at Versailles, on the 27th of April, and most of the deputies arrived by that time; but the elections for Paris not being completed, the king deferred the commencement of their session till the 4th of May. This interval afforded the deputies of the commons an opportunity of becoming acquainted with each other, and of forming themselves into clubs; among which, one formed by a few members from Britany, and afterwards enlarged by the admission of such other deputies, and even others who were not deputies, as shewed themselves zealous in the popular cause, was called the *Comité Breton* till after its removal to Paris, and there it became formidable under the name of the *Jacobin Club*; an appellation given to it from the hall of the Jacobin friars, in which its sittings were held.

During the first sittings of the States-General, the commons insisted that the three estates should sit together in one chamber, which was resisted in the chamber of the clergy by a majority of 133 against 114, and in that of the nobles by 188 against 47. The commons, therefore, determined that no business should be transacted till their desire was yielded to, and suffered five weeks to pass away in total inactivity, as to public affairs, but not as to the propagation of their new and bold ideas of liberty,

liberty, which were eagerly imbibed by their auditory, who were admitted promiscuously, without respect to rank or sex, not only into the galleries, but even into the body of the hall, among the deputies. The declamations of the popular orators were received with acclamations, and the meetings of the commons rather resembled the tumult of a theatre than the gravity of an assembly of legislators. In the mean time, the nobles became more and more unpopular; the odious epithet of *Aristocrate* was applied to all who dared to speak in their favour. They saw the clergy ready to abandon them, under the influence of the parochial parsons; and even in their own body they were opposed by a minority, having at its head the celebrated Duke of Orleans, the first prince of the royal blood.

At length the leaders of the commons declared, that the privileged orders, being only the representatives of particular corporations, had no right, in a collective capacity, to act as legislators for France, but that they should be admitted to sit and vote with the representatives of the people at large. They therefore sent a message to this effect to the chambers of the peers and clergy, requiring their attendance as individuals, and intimating that the commons, as the deputies of 96 out of every hundred of their countrymen, were about to assume the exclusive power of legislation: at the same time they appointed twenty committees for the management of public affairs. This bold measure was proposed by the Abbé Sieyes. None of the nobles obeyed this mandate; but three *curés* presented their credentials, and were received with loud acclamations: these were soon followed by five more; and, after some debate as to the appellation they ought to assume, the commons, thus joined by eight of the clergy, solemnly voted themselves the sovereign legislators of the country, under the title of the *National Constituent Assembly*.

The popular cause now gained ground so fast, that on the 19th of June a majority of the clergy voted for a verification of their powers, in common with the national assembly; and the nobles perceived that they must instantly make a decisive stand, or give up their cause for lost. The king had hitherto favoured the popular cause against the aristocracy; but now every art was used to
alarm

alarm his mind upon the assumption of power by the commons; and they proved at length successful, during the absence of M. Necker, then attending the last moments of a dying sister. On the 20th of June, when the president and members of the National Assembly were about to enter their hall, they found it surrounded by a detachment of the guards, who refused them admission, while the heralds proclaimed a royal session: the plea for this interruption was the necessary preparations for the intended solemnity. Supposing that an immediate dissolution of the assembly was designed, the president and deputies retired to an adjoining tennis-court, and there took a solemn oath, "never to separate till the constitution of their country should be completed." On the 22d, the National Assembly met in the church of St. Louis, and were there joined by the majority of the clergy, with the Archbishop of Vienne at their head. Two nobles of Dauphiné, the Marquis de Blagon, and the Count D'Angoult, also presented their commissions, and were received with applause. On the 23d, the royal session was held in the ancient form; the hall was surrounded with soldiers; and while the two privileged orders were seated within, the commons were left standing without, for a full hour, in a heavy rain; so that when at last admitted, they were in no humour to receive with much complacency the commands of their sovereign. The King read a discourse, in which he declared the proceedings of the national assembly to be null, and presented the plan of a new constitution, which, though it contained many patriotic principles, preserved the distinction of orders, and the use of *lettres de cachet*; it was also silent as to any share to be possessed in the legislation by the States-General, as well as upon the responsibility of ministers, and the liberty of the press. When the King withdrew, he commanded the deputies to retire, and was followed by all the nobles, and part of the clergy. But the commons chose to remain, and, before they separated, decreed their adherence to their former resolutions, and pronounced their persons to be inviolable. On the following day, the 24th of June, the majority of the clergy attended with the commons, as members of the National Assembly; and, on the 25th, they were joined by the

Duke of Orleans and 49 of the deputies of the order of nobles. On the 27th, Louis sent a pressing letter to both orders, inviting them to join the commons; which request was immediately complied with, though many of the nobility disapproved of the measure. Such was the origin of the famous National Assembly, whose deeds will be remembered to the latest posterity.

In the mean time, famine raged throughout the country, and, being particularly felt in Paris, prepared the people for receiving unfavourable impressions. The military were also seduced, and, in a case of riot on the 23d of June, refused to fire on the mob; for which disobedience they were afterwards pardoned by the National Assembly. The tumultuous state of the capital, which was daily increasing, made the king call out the military force, to restore the public peace. A rumour was instantly propagated, that it was intended to besiege and bombard Paris, to dissolve the Assembly, and to put the members to death. About 35,000 troops were stationed in the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles; the posts commanding the city were occupied, and camps marked out for a still greater force. The Count D'Artois, who was at the head of these proceedings, now procured the dismissal of M. Necker; and that popular minister was ordered to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours.

All Paris was thrown into consternation on receiving intelligence of M. Necker's banishment; and when the Prince de Lambesc, grand ecuyer of France, attempted by violence to reduce the turbulent spirit of the citizens, at the head of a German regiment, the French guards joined their countrymen, and compelled them to retire. All order was now at an end; and, as night approached, an universal terror pervaded every quarter of the city. Bands of robbers were collecting, and a general pillage was dreaded. The alarm bells were sounded; the citizens assembled at the Hotel de Ville, and enrolled themselves as a militia for general defence, under the title of the National Guards.

On the morning of the memorable 14th of July 1789, it was discovered that the troops who had been encamped in the *Champs Elisées* had moved off, whence a general attack was apprehended. The national guards now
amounted

amounted to 150,000 men; and in the *Hôtel des Invalides* they found upwards of 30,000 stand of arms, besides 20 pieces of cannon: to these were added a considerable quantity and variety of weapons taken from the *Garde Meuble* of the crown, the cutlers' shops, &c. At first, this new militia had mounted a green cockade; but this being the livery of the Count D'Artois, they afterwards discarded it, and adopted one of *red, blue, and white*.

The celebrated fortress and prison of the *Bastille* was an object of terror and jealousy to the Parisians: so long as it remained in the power of the crown, the city could not be considered as secure. It was therefore invested by a motley multitude of citizens and soldiers, who had joined the popular cause; and the governor, M. De Launy, was summoned to surrender. He displayed a flag of truce, and demanded a parley; upon which M. De la Rosier, with a numerous deputation, waited on him, and he promised not to fire on the city, unless first attacked. But he soon after admitted a multitude of persons within the fortress, drew up the bridge, and ordered them to be fired on, which was done, and occasioned a great carnage. This, instead of intimidating, only augmented the rage of the populace; they forced the outer and inner courts, and, after five hours firing, obliged the fort and garrison to surrender. De Launy and his major were instantly put to death, and their heads carried on poles through the streets of Paris. The remainder of the day was spent in a mixture of alarm and triumph, and a general illumination lasted the whole night.

Seven prisoners only were found in the cells of this prison, among whom were Major White, a native of Scotland, Earl Mazarene, an Irish nobleman, and the Count de Lorges; all of whom had, more or less, suffered in their intellects from the length and severity of their confinement. Major White, by being unaccustomed to converse with human creatures, had actually lost the faculty of speech. There was also discovered, in an iron cage, weighing about twelve tons, the skeleton of some unhappy victim of despotism, who had lingered out a miserable existence in that dark and horrible abode.

These transactions were concealed from the King, by the Count D'Artois and his party, till the Duke de Liancourt forced his way into the royal apartment, at midnight,

to apprise him of the situation of his capital; at the same time he recommended the Count to fly immediately for his life, as his name was contained in the lists of proscribed persons, posted on the walls of Paris. The next morning Louis appeared in the National Assembly, but without the pomp of despotism; and, in an affectionate and consolatory address, lamented the disturbances at Paris, disavowed all intention of an attack on the persons of the deputies, and intimated that the troops should be immediately removed. The tear of sympathy started from almost every eye; and, after an expressive pause of silence, a general burst of applause broke forth. On the following day, the King intimated to the Assembly his desire to visit Paris; and many of the members, in their robes, accompanied him, on foot. The Paris militia, headed by the Marquis de la Fayette, their commander, went out to meet the procession; and when his Majesty arrived at the gates of the city, the keys were presented to him, by M. Bailly, in whose person the office of Mayor of Paris had been renewed. All this time nothing could be heard but shouts of *Vive la Nation!* Louis repaired to the Hotel de Ville; and having received a national cockade, he put it on, and appeared at the window, on which the air was rent with shouts of *Vive le Roi!* The return of the king to Versailles was a real triumph; the citizens, intoxicated with enthusiasm, surrounded his carriage; and his countenance, which in the morning was saddened by melancholy apprehensions, now shone with cheerfulness, and he apparently partook in the general exultation.

This humour of the populace, however, did not long continue; they speedily returned to the work of massacre; the heads of unpopular men were struck off, and carried about on poles; they became habituated to bloodshed, and excited each other to fresh acts of atrocity by what were termed national airs and songs, particularly the well known "*Cà ira*," and the "*Marseillois Hymn*."

In consequence of an invitation from the King, M. Necker returned to France, and was received by the National Assembly with great applause, and in Paris with great solemnity and triumph. But he could not put a stop to the bloody proscription and tumult; on the contrary, the enthusiasm of the capital was communicated to
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the provinces, and in every quarter the people seized upon all the arms that could be found, and the military refused to act against them.

In the sitting of the 4th of August, the Viscount de Noailles, seconded by the Duke D'Aiguillon, proposed the abolition of all feudal claims and services, together with a general taxation on all classes of men, according to their property. These proposals were received with the most enthusiastic applauses by the assembly and the galleries, and were decreed by acclamation, without a vote. The hereditary jurisdictions possessed by the nobles within their own territories were next sacrificed. All places and pensions granted by the court were suppressed, unless granted as the reward of merit or of actual services. The game laws were renounced, together with the rights of warrens, fisheries, and dove-cotes. The sale of offices was abolished; and the fees exacted from the poor, with the privilege of holding a plurality of livings, were relinquished by the clergy. The deputies of the Pays d'Etat, or privileged provinces, with the deputies of Dauphiné, offered a surrender of their ancient privileges. The representatives of Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Bourdeaux, Strasbourg, &c. likewise requested leave to renounce all their privileges as corporations, under the idea of placing every man, and every village in the nation, upon a footing of equality; and, to close the whole, the Duke de Liancourt proposed that a solemn *Te Deum* should be performed, that a medal should be struck in commemoration of the events of that night, and that the title of Restorer of Gallic Liberty should be bestowed upon the reigning monarch.

These great popular sacrifices were succeeded by a short season of tranquillity, during which the king seized the opportunity of appointing a new ministry. M. Necker, as minister of finance, stated the embarrassed situation of the revenue: for the confusion into which the nation had been thrown by the late events had produced a suspension of the payment of all taxes. Among other plans for retrieving the finances, recourse was had to patriotic contributions; and great numbers of gold rings, silver buckles, and pieces of plate, were presented to the assembly; and the royal family themselves

selves sent their plate to the mint. At length, M. Necker was driven to the necessity of proposing a compulsory loan, by which every individual should advance a sum equal to one-fourth of his annual income: this proposition was adopted by the assembly; but it does not appear to have been effectually carried into execution. In the mean time, the Assembly was occupied in framing the celebrated declaration of the rights of man, which was afterwards prefixed to the new constitution*.

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* The following is the Declaration of the Rights of Man, as voted by the National Assembly; its principles were too pure for a successful adoption in so corrupt a state of society as the French.

“ The Representatives of the People of FRANCE, formed into a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth, in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights. That this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties. That the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected: and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend, to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

“ For these reasons, the National Assembly doth recognize and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following *sacred* rights of men and citizens:—

‘ 1 Men are born, and always continue, free, and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

“ 2. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

‘ 3. The nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any INDIVIDUAL, or ANY BODY OF MEN, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

‘ 4. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

‘ 5. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is not prohibited by the law, should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

‘ 6. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens

This was followed by a long discussion respecting the legislative authority of the King; and it was settled that the executive power could possess no negative against the decrees of the Assembly. Soon after this, the King

‘citizens have a right to concur, either personally, or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and *all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.*

‘7. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; and every citizen called upon, or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

‘8. The law ought to impose no other penalties but such as are absolutely and evidently necessary: and no one ought to be punished, but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

‘9. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

‘10. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his *religious* opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

‘11. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

‘12. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons with whom it is entrusted.

‘13. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

‘14. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representatives, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

‘15. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents, an account of their conduct.

‘16. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

‘17. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.”

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gave his sanction to the important decrees of the 4th of August; but not without expressing his doubts of the expediency of some of them, in a letter to the Assembly. At the same time the inviolability of the person of the monarch was decreed, the indivisibility of the throne, and its hereditary descent from male to male in the reigning family.

About this period, a report being circulated of the intended flight of the King, the French guards, who were, since their defection, in the pay of the city, began to wish to be restored to their ancient employment of attending his person, to prevent any attempt of this nature. This idea was eagerly cherished by the capital; and, in spite of every effort used by M. de la Fayette, the appearance of approaching disturbances could not be prevented. The popular party saw the advantages which they would derive from placing the Assembly and the King in the midst of that turbulent metropolis; every encouragement was, therefore, given by the most active leaders of the democratic party to the establishing the court at Paris. On the 5th of October, a violent debate ensued in the Assembly at Versailles, during which all Paris was in commotion. A vast multitude of women of the lower rank, with many men in women's clothes, had assembled at the Hotel de Ville, and were calling aloud for arms and bread. La Fayette in vain opposed their proceeding to Versailles to demand bread from the King and the Assembly, for the soldiers refused to turn their bayonets against the women. Upon this, the insurgents set out for Versailles, led by one Stanislaus Maillard, a man who had distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille. The Mayor and municipality of Paris now thought fit to give orders to La Fayette instantly to set out for Versailles at the head of the national guard. In the mean time, Maillard approached Versailles with his tumultuous troop; the King was hunting in the woods of Mendon when he was informed of their arrival. Maillard entered the Assembly, accompanied with a deputation of his followers, to state the object of their journey. The Assembly, to pacify them, sent a deputation of their own number along with them, to lay their complaints before the King, who received the whole with great urbanity, and agreed to adopt any measure for the supply of
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the capital that could be suggested. This had such an effect on the multitude, that they began to disperse; but they were speedily succeeded by another crowd, not less numerous. A sudden resolution of flight appears now to have been proposed by the court, for the King's carriages were brought to the gate of the palace: but the national guard of Versailles refused to allow them to pass; and the King himself refused to remove, or to allow any blood to be shed in his cause. La Fayette with his army at length arrived, about ten o'clock at night, and found the hall and galleries of the assembly crowded by the Parisian fishwomen, and others of the mob, who, at every instant, interrupted the debates. La Fayette waited upon the King, and informed him of the proceedings of the day; planted guards in every quarter; and, after a scanty banquet had been procured for the multitude, he prevailed with the Assembly to close their sitting for the night. All was now quiet, till about six in the morning of the 6th, when a great number of women and desperate persons rushed forward to the palace, and attempted to force their way into it. Two of the *gardes du corps* were killed; the crowd ascended the staircase leading to the Queen's apartments, but were bravely resisted by Meimandre, a sentinel, who gave the alarm, and defended his post till he fell covered with wounds; which, however, did not prove fatal. The ruffians, reeking with his blood, rushed into the Queen's chamber, and pierced with bayonets and poniards the bed, whence this persecuted woman had but just time to fly, almost naked, and through ways unknown to the murderers, to take refuge with the King, who, being alarmed, had gone to seek her. The tumult became every moment more violent, and death seemed to threaten the whole royal family; but La Fayette was, by this time, at the head of his troops, whom he besought earnestly to save the *gardes du corps* from massacre: in which he was successful, and the retreat of the whole corps was secured. The crowd was speedily driven from the different quarters of the palace, which they were already beginning to pillage; and the royal family ventured to shew themselves at a balcony. A few voices now exclaimed, "The King to Paris!" The shout soon became general; and the King, after consulting with La Fayette, declared himself willing

to take up his residence at Paris, if he were accompanied by his Queen and children. The Assembly, on this proposal, expressed much satisfaction, ordered a deputation of 100 members to attend the King thither, and voted the National Assembly inseparable from the King. He set out at two o'clock, in custody of the mob. Two gentlemen were selected from his body guard, and, with all the parade of an execution, beheaded in the court of his palace. Their heads were stuck upon spears, and led the procession; whilst the royal captives, who followed in the train, and beheld this spectacle, were conducted so slowly, that a short journey of twelve miles was protracted to six hours. The city was illuminated, and the evening spent in triumph by the Parisians.

The higher order of nobles considered this event as ruinous to their cause; and the Duke of Orleans, being suspected of having fomented the late disturbances, went by La Fayette's advice to London, where he resided for several months. On the 19th of October 1789, the National Assembly held its first session in Paris. The peace of the capital was secured by a severe law being passed, authorizing the magistrates to act by military force against any multitude of persons that should refuse to disperse; but in the country no small degree of confusion still subsisted. The suspicions which had prevailed at Paris agitated the provinces with the dread of plots and monopolies of grain. The noblesse in the country were not satisfied with the liberality with which their representatives had, on the 4th of August, voted away their privileges and their property. This produced violent jealousies between the peasants and their lords, and conveyed to every corner of the kingdom the political ferment which had commenced at Paris.

The National Assembly being now, however, in tolerable security, proceeded in the arduous attempt of forming a free constitution for the kingdom. The Abbé Sieyes presented a plan for dividing the kingdom into 83 departments, of about 324 square leagues, and each department into several districts, and each district was subdivided into cantons of four square leagues in extent; and the whole ancient divisions were abolished. An attempt was also made to simplify the relative situations of individuals in civil life, by a decree, which put an end to all

all distinctions of orders and immunities, so far as any privilege was concerned. At the same time, the whole of the lands belonging to the church were confiscated, to supply the exigencies of the state; and assignats, or assignments, were issued upon them. A decree was next passed, suspending the parliaments from the exercise of their functions; the Chatelet, however, being retained for trying royalists.

On the 4th of February 1790, the King suddenly appeared in the National Assembly, where he complained of the attempts that had been made to shake the new constitution, and declared that he would defend the constitutional liberty of the state, and, in conjunction with the Queen, would early form the sentiments of his son for that new order of things which the circumstances of the nation had introduced.

On the 13th of February, monastic establishments were suppressed, and their lands confiscated; but the friars and nuns were allowed pensions for their subsistence. In consequence of the evacuation of the monasteries about this time, the Breton committee assumed the appellation of the Jacobin Club, from the hall in which their meetings were held at Paris having belonged to the Jacobin friars.

The preparations for war, in which England and Spain were engaged, brought forward, on the 14th of May, the constitutional question in the National Assembly, "Who ought to possess the power of declaring peace and war?" when it was decreed, that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, confining itself entirely to defensive war; and that peace and war should be declared by the King and the legislative body in conjunction. A decree was also passed, abolishing all hereditary titles, and suppressing all armorial bearings.

During this, the capital was entirely engrossed by hurry and bustle, a plan having been adopted for commemorating the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. The army had been much disorganized; and it was resolved to attempt to unite all its branches, as well as all the departments of the state, in one common attachment to the new order of things, by collecting into one place deputations for the purpose of swearing fidelity to the new constitution. This confederation, as it was called,

was decreed to take place on the 14th of July 1790. The Champ de Mars, so famous for having been the rendezvous of the troops which, in the preceding year, were intended to overawe the capital, was chosen for this solemnity. In the centre of the plain an altar was erected, at which the civic oath, or oath of fidelity to the nation, was to be taken. Around the altar an immense amphitheatre, of a league in circumference, was thrown up, capable of containing 400,000 spectators; 2000 workmen were employed in this operation: and the people of Paris, fearing lest the plan might not be completed, assisted in the labour. The entrance was through triumphal arches. The King's throne was placed under an elegant pavilion in the middle, and on each side of it were seats for the members of the National Assembly.

The important 14th of July at length arrived. The national guards of the departments, distinguished by their respective standards, the battalions of infantry, and the different troops of cavalry, the marine of France, and the foreigners who served under its banners, being arranged in military order, the King and the National Assembly took a solemn oath to maintain the constitution; and the armed citizens repeated it, amongst the applauses of innumerable spectators. They swore to live free, or to die; and this oath was taken on the same day through the whole extent of the kingdom. *Te Deum* was then sung. The performance was sublime beyond the powers of description. Never, perhaps, before was there such an orchestra, or such an audience: their numbers baffled the eye to reckon, and their shouts in full chorus rent the skies. It is impossible to enumerate all the means which were employed to add splendour to this day. It ended with a general illumination, and no accident disturbed the public peace.

The Assembly now proceeded in the formation of the constitution with considerable tranquillity; which, however, was disturbed by an insurrection among the regiments in garrison at Nancy, occasioned by necessities having been denied them, and their pay having been kept back. Upon a representation made to the National Assembly, a decree was passed, authorizing the commander-in-chief of the province, M. Bouillé, to reduce the insurgents by force. Bouillé hastened to Nancy, at
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the head of all the troops he could suddenly collect; and, having put an immense multitude to the sword, took 400 prisoners. The news of these events filled Paris with indignation. The Assembly afterwards reversed its own decrees against the insurgents; but Bouillé could not be punished, because he had only acted by authority.

M. Necker's popularity had been gradually declining, as he was unwilling to go all the lengths that the ruling party wished. He gave in his resignation on the 4th of September, and soon after left the kingdom, regretted by no party.

The Assembly commenced the year 1791 with a decree, announcing the termination of its session, which was to take place as soon as it should have finished the discussion of a list of constitutional articles. In the mean time, on the side of Germany, Spain, Italy, and Savoy, hostile appearances began to be exhibited, and bodies of troops advanced round the French frontiers; on which the Assembly expressed some alarm, and voted an augmentation of the national force.

On the 20th of February, the public attention was roused by a circumstance, that, in any other state of affairs, would have been accounted unimportant. The King announced to the Assembly, that his aunts, the daughters of Louis XV. had that morning left Paris; but as he did not apprehend that the existing laws laid them under any restraint in this respect, he had not opposed their departure. After some debate, the Assembly agreed that the King had judged well; and these princesses were left to pursue their journey to Rome, which they reached after some delays, occasioned by the jealousy of certain municipalities, through which they passed. Thus the kingdom was gradually deserted by every branch of the royal family, excepting the King and his eldest brother, Monsieur, the present Sovereign of France.

During this spring, great fear was entertained that some attempts at a counter-revolution were about to be made. The emigrant army, assembled on the borders, was reviewed by the Prince of Condé. The King was likewise surrounded by nonjuring priests, and other disaffected persons: thus that popular jealousy, which is characteristic of all democracies, was kept on the alarm.

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On the 18th of April, therefore, when the royal family was preparing to go to St. Cloud to pass some days, a report was spread that the King was about to fly from the country. The carriages were immediately surrounded by the populace. La Fayette drew out the national guard, but they refused to act. The King instantly went to the Assembly, and with much spirit complained of the insult: he was answered respectfully by the president, and continued his journey.

As the royal family had enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom for some time past, which was demonstrated by the unsuccessful opposition made to this journey, this opportunity was embraced for intimating to foreign courts his acceptance of the constitution; and all obnoxious persons were dismissed from his person.

About this time M. Bouillé, to whom the protection of the frontiers was entrusted, employed every means in his power to render the country defenceless. The garrisons were left unprovided; disunion was spread among the national troops; they were removed from the frontiers, and their places supplied by foreigners. The emigrants abroad, and their friends at home, were lying in wait for an opportunity to revolt; when suddenly, on the 21st of June, it was announced from the Thuilleries, that the King, the Queen, the Dauphin, Louis the present King and his Princess, had quitted the palace and the capital, without leaving any information of their intention or their route. The emotion excited by this news among the multitude was a mixture of consternation and rage. The National Assembly, however, acted with much coolness; they instantly took upon themselves the government, and decreed their sittings permanent. They sent messengers in all directions, to attempt to lay hold of the fugitives, who had taken different routes. Louis XVIII. (the King's brother) and Madame arrived safely at Brussels on the 23d. The King, Queen, and their children, when they came to a considerable distance from the capital, were furnished by Bouillé with a guard of dragoons, under pretence of protecting treasure for the pay of the troops. At the distance of 156 miles, and when only a few leagues from the frontiers, they were arrested at St. Menchoul by the postmaster, M. Drouet, formerly a dragoon in the regiment of Condé.

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At half past seven, P. M. the carriages stopped to change horses at his house; he thought that he recollected the Queen, and imagined that the King's face resembled the impressions stamped upon the assignats. The escort of dragoons increased the suspicion. He suffered them to depart, at eleven o'clock, without notice; but taking a companion with him, went by a shorter road to Varennes. With the assistance of the postmaster there, he gave the alarm, and overturned a carriage on the bridge, which detained the royal travellers till the national guard of the place had assembled. The arrest was effected without bloodshed; and they were brought back to Paris by a deputation from the Assembly. The King, at his departure, had imprudently left behind him a memorial, in which he protested against every thing that he had been compelled to do during his captivity.

This journey was highly instrumental in producing fatal effects to the monarch. His flight seemed a signal for emigration. Many of the aristocratic party sent in resignations of their seats in the Assembly: troops were levied on the frontiers in the King's name; who, however, disavowed any connexion with such a procedure. Bouillé emigrated, and afterwards sent a threatening letter, which was but the forerunner of the manifesto of the sovereigns of Europe.

A considerable calm throughout France followed these events. Towards the close of the summer, however, a convention took place at Pilnitz, in Saxony, between the Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia; which has been understood by many to have been intended for the purpose of concluding a league for the invasion of France, the new modelling its government, and the partition of some of its fairest provinces.

The new constitution was presented to the King on the 3d of September 1791, who on the 13th signified his acceptance of it in writing; and the following day he appeared in the Assembly, introduced by a deputation of sixty members, and solemnly consecrated the assent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath of fidelity to it. He then withdrew, and was attended back to the Thuilleries by the whole Assembly, with the president at their head.

On the 30th of September, this National Assembly,
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since known by the name of the Constituent Assembly, dissolved itself, and gave place to the succeeding Legislative National Assembly, which had been elected according to the rules prescribed by the new constitution. This Assembly was opened by the King on the 7th of October, with much apparent union on all sides: it was chiefly composed of country gentlemen, of principles highly democratic, or of men of letters, who had published popular books, or conducted periodical publications. The members of the Constituent Assembly had been excluded by their own decree from holding seats in the new legislature, so that the new members had little regard for a constitution which they themselves had not framed. When this Assembly first met, it shewed a trifling attention to formalities, and a scrupulous jealousy of the ministers of the crown.

The treaty of Pilnitz, mentioned above, began now to be rumoured abroad, which, together with the dubious and undecided conduct of the Emperor, and the refuge and protection found in the German empire by the emigrant princes, excited France to vigorous resolutions; and a celebrated manifesto, addressed to all states and nations, made its appearance. The forcible measures pursued had the effect of intimidating the German princes; and the emigrants were constrained to an ignominious dispersion from the frontiers. But the protection of the Emperor and the Prussian King afforded asylums more remote and less obtrusive. Irresolution seemed to preside in the councils of the Emperor: he had acknowledged the national flag, he had declared that he regarded the King of France as absolutely free, while the league of Pilnitz (which, as was avowed by the court of Vienna, was not only intended to secure Germany from such a revolution as France had experienced, but even to extinguish the dreaded source), and the protection afforded to the emigrants, were infallible proofs that the Emperor could not be regarded as a friend. His sudden death, on the 1st of March 1792, excited great consternation among the aristocrats, and afforded exultation to the supporters of the constitution. Another event, no less unexpected, happened in the assassination of the Swedish monarch, on the 29th of the same month, which we have already noticed in our Memoirs of the Crown Prince of Sweden;

Sweden; fresh spirits were infused through the nation; and the superstitious vulgar imagined that they beheld the peculiar protection of heaven in the removal of the two chief foes of France in one month.

The sudden fall, however, of these two enemies rather accelerated than retarded the meditated hostilities; for, in the progress of the negotiations between the National Assembly and the Court of Vienna, the young king of Hungary, who succeeded to the empire, made no secret either of his own intentions or of the existence of a concert of princes against France; and, excited by the influence of Prussia, began to exhibit more enmity, and severer terms. M. Dumourier was now at the head of the war-office; M. Rolland was minister of the interior; and M. Claviere minister of finance. The Jacobins were all-powerful; and the court gave way to the torrent. The property of the emigrants was confiscated, reserving the rights of creditors. At length, on the 5th of April, M. de Noailles, in his dispatches to the French minister for foreign affairs, explained the propositions of the Imperial Court: that satisfaction should be given to the German Princes, proprietors of Alsace; that Avignon, which had been appropriated by France, should be restored to the Pope; and that the internal government of France should be invested with adequate efficiency, that the other powers might have no apprehensions of being troubled by France. On receiving these demands, the King proposed a declaration of war, which was decreed by the National Assembly on the 20th of April, against Francis I. king of Hungary and Bohemia,

The French immediately began the war, by attacking, in three different columns, the Austrian Netherlands. The first movement, however, of the French was stained with defeat, and with the unpropitious murder of Theobald Dillon, their leader, who fell a prey to the suspicious and savage ferocity of some of the soldiers, who fled from the enemy, but attacked their general.

In the mean time, matters were hastening in Paris towards a violent crisis. Two parties, both of which were hostile to the new constitution, had gradually been formed in the state. The one wished to give more effectual support to the royal authority, by establishing a senate or two chambers, to prevent the King's vote from

being the sole check upon popular enthusiasm. The other party wished to set aside royalty altogether, and to hazard the bold experiment of converting France into a republic. These last were supported by the Jacobin Club, which had contrived to concentrate in itself an immense mass of influence. Innumerable popular societies were established in every town and village throughout the departments; with these a regular correspondence was kept up. Thus schemes and notions were instantaneously propagated through a great empire: but the more immediate engine of the republican party consisted of the immense population of the metropolis, whom they endeavoured to keep in constant alarm. New decrees were now made against the refractory clergy; but these the King refused to sanction. A proposal was also made, and decreed in the Assembly, to form a camp of 20,000 men under the walls of Paris: to this decree likewise the King gave his negative; and, at this time, seems to have resolved to stand out against the Jacobins, to whom he had for some time yielded. The ministry were therefore dismissed, excepting Dumourier, who afterwards resigned, and joined the army. All means were used to render the King odious, by inflammatory writings and harangues; in both of which the noted incendiary Marat took the lead. On the 20th of June, Rœderer, the procureur general syndic, informed the National Assembly, that, contrary to law, formidable bodies of armed men were preparing to present petitions to the King and to the Assembly. A part of them speedily appeared with St. Huruge and Santerre, a brewer, at their head. Having marched through the hall in a procession that lasted two hours, at four P.M. to the number of about 40,000, they surrounded the Thuilleries: the gates were thrown open; and, on an attempt to break the door of the apartment where the King then was, he ordered them to be admitted. His sister, the Princess Elizabeth, never departed from his side during the four or five hours that he was surrounded by the multitude, and compelled to listen to every indignity. All this while Petion, the Mayor of Paris, was unaccountably absent. He at length, however, arrived, and also a deputation from the Assembly. The Queen, with her children and the Princess Lamballe, were, in the mean time, in the council-chamber, where, though protected from violence,

violence, they were exposed to much insult. At last, in consequence of the approach of evening, and of the entreaties of Petion, the multitude gradually dispersed. The indignities suffered this day by the royal family were not unfavourable to their cause; for a great number of the most respectable inhabitants, both of the capital as well as the departments, complained of them severely in petitions to the Assembly. The directory of the department of Paris published also a declaration, disapproving of the conduct of the Mayor and Procureur of the Commune, whom they suspended from their office, although they were restored by the Assembly. La Fayette also, leaving his army suddenly, appeared on the 26th at the bar of the National Assembly, and declared that he came to express the indignation which the whole army felt on account of the events of the 20th: he called upon the Assembly to punish the promoters of these events, and to dissolve the factious clubs. This sudden appearance of La Fayette threw the Jacobins into consternation; and from that period they never ceased to calumniate him.

On the 1st of July, the Assembly ordered a proclamation to be made, that the country was in danger; and on the 6th, the King gave intimation that the King of Prussia was marching with 50,000 men to co-operate against France. The French arms were somewhat successful at this time in the Austrian Netherlands; but the cabinet speedily thought it necessary to order the armies to retreat: a measure that was afterwards publicly censured by Marshal Luckner.

On the 25th of July, the Duke of Brunswick issued, at Coblenz, his celebrated manifesto, which declared the purpose of the intended invasion of France to be the restoration of the French king to full authority. It declared the national guard of France responsible for the preservation of tranquillity; and threatened with the punishment of death, as rebels to their king, those who should appear in arms against the allied powers. All men holding civil or military offices were threatened in the same manner, as well as the inhabitants of all cities. The city of Paris in particular, and the National Assembly, were declared responsible for every insult which might be offered to the royal family. It was declared, that if they were not immediately placed in safety, the allies were resolved to

inflict "on those who should deserve it, the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who should be guilty of illegal resistance should suffer the punishments which they should have deserved." This sanguinary and imprudent manifesto operated as a warrant for the destruction of the unfortunate Louis XVI. leaving no middle party in the nation. All who wished to preserve freedom in any form, and all who loved the independence of their country, were instantly united. At the same time, the reproaches cast on the King by the Jacobins now gained universal credit. The Kings of Prussia and of Hungary likewise told the French nation, that their monarch was secretly hostile to the constitution; and that the restoration of him and his family to despotic power was made the sole pretence for a bloody and dangerous war.

The republican party, seeing the advantage they had now gained, resolved upon the deposition of the King. The chief engine intended to be employed in this service consisted of about 1500 men, who had come to Paris at the period of the confederation, on the 14th of July, and were therefore called *Fæderés*, and sometimes *Marseillois*, from the place whence they came. Great dependence was likewise placed on the populace of the suburbs of Paris. The designs of the republicans were not unknown to the court; and both parties were forming plans of operation. On the 3d of August, Petion, the Mayor, at the head of a deputation from the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, and in a solemn speech demanded the deposition of the King. But the republican party, despairing of carrying their point by a vote of the Assembly, resolved to have recourse to insurrection and violence. On the evening of the 9th of August, about 1500 gentlemen, officers of the army, and others, repaired to the palace, resolved to protect the royal family, or to die in their defence: added to these were 700 Swiss guards, with a body of cavalry, amounting to about 1000. Mandat, the commander of the national guards, a man who was firmly attached to the constitution, had procured 2400 of that body, and twelve pieces of cannon. With such a force, it has been generally supposed that, by vigorous and steady councils,

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the palace, which is a kind of castle, might have been successfully defended. Meanwhile the Assembly declared its sittings permanent. Petion was at the palace late in the evening of the 9th. Some apprehensions were pretended to be entertained for his safety, and a deputation from the Assembly brought him away. At midnight the toscin was sounded, and the drums beat to arms through the city. At this instant a number of the most active leaders of the republican party assembled, and elected a new common council, or commune. The persons thus irregularly chosen immediately took possession of the common hall, and drove out the lawful members, who readily gave place to the usurpers. The new commune sent repeated messages to M. Mandat, requiring his attendance upon important business. He was occupied in arranging the troops around the palace; but, suspecting nothing, went to the common hall, and was there astonished to find a different assembly from what he expected. He was abruptly accused of a plot to massacre the people, and ordered to prison; but, as he descended the stairs, he was shot with a pistol, and Santerre was appointed to command the national guard in his stead. On this eventful night no person in the palace retired to rest. About six o'clock in the morning of the 10th, the King descended into the gardens, to review the troops, and was received with shouts of *Vive le Roi!* excepting from the artillery, who shouted *Vive la Nation!* The King returned to the palace, the multitude continued to collect, and the national guard assembled in divisions near the palace. Towards eight o'clock, Rœderer procured admittance to the palace, and acquainted the King, that armed multitudes were assembling in a hostile manner around the Thuilleries; that the national guard was not to be depended upon; and that, in case of resistance, the whole royal family would most certainly be massacred. He, therefore, advised the King to seek protection in the hall of the National Assembly. With this advice the King was ready to comply; but the Queen opposed the humiliating proposal with vehemence. Becoming, however, alarmed for the safety of her children, she gave her consent; and the King and Queen, the Princess Elizabeth, with the Prince and Princess Royal, went on foot to the hall of the Assembly. "I am come hither,"

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said his Majesty, "to prevent a great crime. Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." As the Assembly, by an article of the constitution, could not deliberate in the presence of the King, the royal family were therefore placed in a narrow box, separated from the hall by a railing, where they remained for fourteen hours, without any place to which they could retire for refreshment, excepting a very small closet adjoining: here they sat listening to debates, in which the royal character and office were treated with every mark of insult.

On the King's leaving the palace of the Thuilleries, he unfortunately forgot to order it to be surrendered. He recollected this as soon as he reached the Assembly, and sent orders for this purpose; but it was now too late, for the insurgents amounted to about 20,000 effective men. They were drawn up in tolerable order by Westerman, a Prussian, and had about thirty pieces of cannon. The gentlemen within the palace, who had assembled to protect the King, were now dispirited. The commander of the Swiss, M. Affray, was absent, and the captains knew not how to act; and the national guard had no leader, in consequence of the death of Mandat. About nine o'clock, the outer gates were forced open; the insurgents forming a line in front of the palace. A bloody combat commenced, chiefly between the Swiss and the Marseillois; but, after a brave resistance of about an hour, the Swiss were overpowered by numbers, and gave way. All of them that could be found in the palace were massacred; some even while imploring quarter on their knees. Others escaped into the city, and were protected by individuals. Of this brave regiment only 200 survived; but every human being, even the most menial servants, were put to death. The Swiss taken prisoners in various quarters were conducted to the door of the Assembly, and taken by a decree under the protection of the state; but the sanguinary multitude insisted upon putting them to instant death; and the Assembly would, in all probability, have been unable to protect them, had not the Marseillois interfered in their favour.

The suspension of the royal authority was now decreed; and the nation was invited to elect a convention,
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to determine the nature of its future government. On this occasion, all Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age were declared capable of electing and being elected deputies to the new national convention. Commissioners were sent on the same evening to give to the armies a full and favourable account of these transactions. The royal family were sent to the old palace of the Temple, in the midst of the city, to remain there under a strict guard; and all persons of rank who had been attached to them were seized and committed to the different prisons. To give an idea of the temper of the populace of Paris at this time, it may be proper to remark, that, at the same instant when the multitude, with bloody fury, were massacring the menial servants in the palace, and could scarcely be restrained from murdering the Swiss prisoners, they would suffer no act of pillage to pass unpunished: several attempts of this kind being followed by the instant death of the criminals. The plate, the jewels, and money, found in the Thuilleries, were brought to the National Assembly, and thrown down in the hall: the minds of these men were elevated by enthusiasm; and they conceived themselves to be the champions of freedom, and objects of terror to the kings of the earth.

At this time the situation of France was extremely critical. La Fayette had got speedy notice of the events of the 10th of August. He advised the magistrates of the town of Sedan to imprison the commissioners from the National Assembly when they should arrive there, which was accordingly done. He at the same time published an address to his army, calling upon them to support the King and the Constitution; but, finding that they were not to be depended upon, on the 19th of August he left his camp, in the night, accompanied only by a few servants. They took the route of Rochefort, in Liege, which was a neutral country, but were met by a party of the enemy, who took them prisoners; and they were detained in Prussian and Austrian dungeons till autumn 1794, when La Fayette made his escape. The commissioners were soon set at liberty at Sedan, and received with applause by the army. General Arthur Dillon at first entered into the sentiments of La Fayette; but Dumourier diverted him from his purpose, and thus regained

regained his credit with the Jacobins, and was appointed commander-in-chief. The other generals made no opposition to the will of the National Assembly.

Meanwhile the combined armies of Austria and Prussia had entered France. The Duke of Brunswick's army was above 50,000 strong. General Clairfait had joined him with 15,000 Austrians, and a considerable body of Hessians, along with 20,000 French emigrants; amounting in all to 90,000 men. To oppose these, Dumourier had only 17,000 men, collected near the point from which the enemy were approaching in Luxembourg. Thus the month of September seemed pregnant with the total ruin of French freedom; but the three following months reversed the scene, and exhibited a tide of success perhaps unexampled in modern history.

The news of the approach of the Prussians (who had already captured two fortified towns) spread an instant alarm through Paris. It was proposed to raise a volunteer army, which should set out immediately to meet the enemy. The common council, which was now held by Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and others of the most sanguinary characters, on the 2d of September ordered the alarm guns to be fired, and the populace to be summoned to meet in the Champ de Mars, to enrol themselves to march against the enemy. The people assembled; and, either in consequence of a premeditated plan, or of an instantaneous movement, a number of voices exclaimed, "that the domestic foes of the nation ought to be destroyed before its foreign enemies were attacked." Parties of armed men proceeded without delay to the prisons, where the nonjuring clergy, the Swiss officers, and those confined since the 10th of August on account of practices against the state, were detained in custody. They took out the prisoners one by one, gave them a kind of mock trial before a jury of themselves, acquitted some few, and murdered the rest. Among the latter was the Princess De Lamballe. She was taken from her bed before this bloody tribunal, and massacred: her head was carried by the populace to the Temple, to be seen by the Queen, whose friend she was. These massacres lasted two days, and upwards of 1000 persons were put to death. There is scarcely any thing in history

tory that can be represented as parallel to them: they were committed, it is said, by less than 300 men, in the midst of an immense city, which heard of them with horror, and in the vicinity of the National Assembly, which, by going in a body, could have put an end to them. But such was the confusion and dismay of these two disgraceful days, that no man dared to stir from his house; and every one believed that the whole city, excepting his own street, was engaged in massacre and bloodshed. The national guards were all ready at their respective posts; but no man directed them to act; and there is too much reason to suspect that Santerre and the chiefs of the commune connived, at least, at the transaction.

On the 20th of September, the French National Convention assembled. It was found to contain men of all characters, orders, and ranks. Many distinguished members of the Constituent Assembly were elected into it, and also several that had belonged to the Legislative Assembly: even foreigners were invited to become French legislators. Thomas Paine and Dr. Priestly were elected by certain departments; but the latter declined accepting. The general aspect of the new Convention shewed that the republican party had acquired a decided superiority. On the first day of meeting, the abolition of royalty in France was decreed by acclamation: and, the following day, it was ordered that all public acts should be dated by the year of the French republic; and all citizens were declared eligible to fill the vacant offices and places. It was, however, soon discovered that the leading republicans had divided into two opposite factions: the one of these was called Girondists, because Vergniaud, Gensonne, Guadet, and some others of its leaders, were members from the department of the Gironde. The celebrated Condorcet belonged to this party; and they were sometimes denominated Brissotines, from M. Brissot de Warville, their principal leader. They supported the ministry then in office, at the head of which was Rolland; and the majority of the Convention was obviously attached to them. In opposition to these was the small party of the Mountain, so called from its members usually sitting in the Convention on the upper seats of the hall. They were men of less personal respectability,

spectability, and fewer literary accomplishments, but of daring and sanguinary characters, whom the revolution had brought into public notice. At the head of this party were Danton and Robespierre. These two parties shewed the diversity of their characters by the manner in which they treated the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. The Brissotines, with the majority of the Convention, wished to bring the murderers to trial; but the question was always eluded by the other party, with the assistance of the Jacobin club and of the populace. On the 9th of October, it was decreed, that all emigrants, when taken, should suffer death; and, on the 15th of November, in consequence of an insurrection in the duchy of Deux Ponts, and an application on the part of the insurgents to the Convention for aid, the following decree was passed: "The National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering, in the cause of liberty." This decree gave great offence to foreign nations, and no doubt was the immediate cause of that universal combination against the new republic.

To return to the military affairs. So rapid was the progress of the French arms, and so great were the distresses in the combined armies, arising from a scarcity of provisions, from a long rainy season, and from a considerable mortality among the Prussians, by the French accounts estimated at one half, that the Prussians retreated from the dominions of France; and their example was soon followed by the Austrians.

Even at the very time that Paris was in the greatest danger, the invasion of Savoy was ordered. On the 21st of September, General Montesquieu entered the Savoyard territories, seized on the frontier posts and castles without resistance; and two days after took Montmelien: Chambery, and all Savoy, soon followed; but the conquest, not being resisted, was productive of no military glory. The imprudence of the National Convention, in permitting Savoy to incorporate itself with France, has excited wonder, after the frequent declarations, that the French would enter into no war with any view to conquest.

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On the 29th, General Anselm, with another body of troops, took possession of Nice, and the country around it. On the 30th, General Custines advanced to Spires, where he found the Austrians drawn up in order of battle. He attacked, and drove them through the city, taking 3000 of them prisoners. The capture of Worms succeeded that of Spires; Mentz surrendered by capitulation; and Frankfort fell into the hands of the French on the 23d. Out of this last place, however, they were afterwards driven, on the 2d of December.

On the 12th of October, General Dumourier came to Paris, and was sent to commence a winter campaign in the Netherlands, which he entered on the 1st or 2d of November, with an army of 40,000 men, which was afterwards increased, and with a most formidable train of artillery. Repeated engagements with the Austrian army, commanded by the Duke of Saxe Teschen, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, and by General Beaulieu, which, however, did not exceed 20,000, occupied the first five days. At length, on the 6th of November, a decisive battle was fought at Jemappes, which decided the fate of the Netherlands. The contest was very general: all the points of the enemy's flanks and lines were attacked at once; all the bodies of the French were in action; and almost every individual fought personally. The cannonade began at seven in the morning; and at noon the French infantry formed in columns, and rapidly advanced to decide the affair by the bayonet. After an obstinate defence, the Austrians, at two o'clock, retired in the utmost disorder.

Dumourier immediately advanced, and took possession of the neighbouring town of Mons, where the French were received as friends. The tidings arriving at Brussels, the court was struck with an indescribable panic, and instantly fled to Ruremond, whence it was again to be driven by the arms of Miranda. Tournay surrendered to a detachment on the 8th of November. Dumourier, having refreshed his troops at Mons, advanced to Brussels; where, after an indecisive engagement between his van and the Austrian rear, he was received with acclamations on the 14th of that month. Ghent, Charleroi, Antwerp, Malines or Mechlin, Louvain, Ostend, Namur, in short, all the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxembourg,

successively followed the example of the capital; the conquests of Louis XIV. being not more rapid.

No sooner had Antwerp yielded to the French arms, than, in order to conciliate the Belgians, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, shut up by the treaty of Munster, 1648, was projected and ordered, notwithstanding that this treaty, so far as respected the shutting up of the navigation of this river, had been confirmed to the Dutch in succeeding treaties, guaranteed both by the courts of Versailles and London. The Dutch regarded this measure as injurious to their trade, for Antwerp might prove a dangerous rival to Amsterdam. The infraction of this treaty was one of the reasons which induced the government of Great Britain to oppose the unwarrantable pretensions of the French.

France was now in a situation not unusual in the history of those nations that either are free, or are attempting to become so; successful in all quarters abroad, but distracted by factions at home. The two parties in the Convention were engaged in a struggle, which daily became more implacable. The Mountain party did not hesitate about the means they were to employ to bring about the ruin of their antagonists. They were even suspected of having, through the medium of Pache, the war minister, retarded the supply of the armies, to render the ruling party odious by want of success. They were for some time, however, unfortunate in this respect; and the daily news of victories supported with the public the credit of the Girondists. A new subject was, therefore fallen upon, which was the question, How the dethroned King was to be disposed of? The moderate party wished to save him; and this was a sufficient reason for their antagonists to resolve upon his ruin. A committee was appointed to give in a report upon his conduct. A variety of accusations were brought against him; and the Convention resolved to act the double part of both accusers and judges.

On the 11th of December, when the ill-fated monarch was ordered to the bar of the Convention, the act of accusation was read, and the King was summoned by the president, Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. The greater part of the accusations brought against him were trifling. Those which seem to be of importance relate

relate to conduct authorised by the constitution under which he acted; and that constitution declared his person inviolable. Most of the charges the King denied any knowledge of; and when the whole had been investigated, the president, addressing the King, said, "Have you any thing more to add in your defence?" "I desire to have a copy of the accusation," replied the King, "and of the papers on which it is founded. I also desire to have a counsel of my own nomination." Barrere informed him, that his two first requests were already decreed, and that the determination respecting the other would be made known to him in due time. It was accordingly decreed, that counsel should be allowed to the King; and his choice fell upon Messrs. Tronchet, Lamoignon Malesherbes, and Deseze: he had previously applied to M. Target, who excused himself on account of his age and infirmity. On the 26th of December, the King appeared for the last time at the bar of the Convention; and M. Deseze read a defence, which the counsel had prepared, and which was equally admired for solidity of argument and beauty of composition. When the defence was finished, the King arose; and, holding a paper in his hand, said, in a calm manner, and with a firm voice, "Citizens, you have heard my defence: I now speak to you, perhaps, for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed, with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary disposition, I hoped, would have saved me from such an imputation, which, I now solemnly declare, is entirely groundless."

The discussion was fatally closed on the 16th of January. After a sitting of nearly thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was awarded by a small majority of the Convention; and several of these differed in opinion from the rest, respecting the time when it should be inflicted; some contending that it should not be put in execution till after the end of the war, while others proposed to take the sense of the people, by referring the sentence to the primary assemblies. M. Deseze then solemnly

solemnly invoked the assembly, in the name of his colleagues, to consider by what a small majority the punishment of death was pronounced against the dethroned monarch. "Do not afflict France," added this eloquent advocate, "by a judgment that will appear terrible to her, when five voices only were presumed sufficient to carry it." He appealed to eternal justice, and sacred humanity, to induce the Convention to refer their sentence to the tribunal of the people. "You have either forgotten or destroyed," said the celebrated M. Tronchet, "the lenity which the law allows to criminals, of requiring at least two-thirds of the voices to constitute a definitive judgment." But, notwithstanding these remonstrances, the sentence was ordered to be executed in twenty-four hours.

The King and his family had been for some time kept separate from each other; but he was now allowed to see them, and to choose an ecclesiastic to attend him. The meeting, and, above all, the separation from his family, was tender in the extreme.

On Monday, the 21st of January 1793, at eight o'clock in the morning, the unfortunate monarch was summoned to his fate. He ascended the scaffold with a firm air and step. Raising his voice, he said, "Frenchmen, I die innocent; I pardon all my enemies; and may France—" At this instant the inhuman Santerre ordered the drums to beat, and the executioners to perform their office. When the guillotine descended, the priest exclaimed, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." The bleeding head was held up, and a few of the populace shouted *Vive la Republique!* His body was interred in a grave that was filled up with quick-lime, and a guard placed around till it should be consumed.

Thus fell the unfortunate Louis XVI. He possessed a good understanding, which, however, was blunted by the early indulgencies of a court. He had a strong sense of justice; and his humanity was, perhaps, extreme. His chief defect was a want of resolution and steadiness. Unambitious, and easily advised, he was induced to change his purposes, especially by his Queen, whose connexion with the house of Austria had always tended to render his counsels unpopular. Whether he was connected with the foreign invaders, posterity must decide; but all men
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of moderation are convinced that he was murdered by a band of ruffians. Indeed, a sentence more unjust is not to be found in the records of history. The severest punishment that he could incur by law, was deposition; and therefore, in putting him to death, the French nation broke the social compact which their representatives had made with him.

The execution of Louis XVI. and the démocratic principles which now prevailed in France, gave just alarm to all the European governments, and new foes daily appeared against the republic. After many fruitless negotiations, France declared war against Great Britain and Holland; and shortly afterwards hostilities were declared against Spain: and, in the course of the summer, all Europe was combined against her, except Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. The dangers and difficulties which the new republic was exposed to, were greatly increased by the defection of General Dumourier; added to which, immense multitudes of emigrants and other royalists had assembled, during the winter, in the departments of La Vendée and the Loire, declaring for Louis XVII. and professing to act in the name of Monsieur, the present sovereign. About the middle of March 1793, 40,000 of them advanced against Mentz; and, in the beginning of April, they defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, and possessed themselves of fifty leagues of country. Thus the new republic, assaulted from without by the whole strength of Europe, was undermined by treachery and faction within.

While France was thus verging upon ruin, parties in the Convention seemed only anxious for the extermination of each other. In March, the infamous revolutionary tribunal was established, for trying crimes committed against the state; and the Girondist party, the mildness of whose administration had contributed to increase the evils of their country, began to see the necessity of adopting measures of severity: but the public calamities, which now rapidly followed each other in succession, were ascribed by their countrymen to their imbecility and perfidy. This gave to the Mountain party a fatal advantage.

On the 15th of April, the communes of the forty-eight sections of Paris presented a petition, requiring that

that the chiefs of the Girondists should be impeached, and expelled from the Convention. This was followed up, on the 1st of May, by another petition from the suburb of St. Antoine. The Girondist party, in the mean time, impeached Marat; but he was acquitted by the jury at his trial.

The Mountain, by the assistance of the Jacobin club, had now acquired a complete ascendancy over Paris. The Brissotines proposed, therefore, to remove the Convention from the capital; but, to prevent this, the Mountain resolved to make the same use of the Parisians against the Girondists, that they had formerly done against the King on the 10th of August.

It is unnecessary to detail all the tumults that occurred either in Paris or in the Convention during the rest of May. On the 31st, at four in the morning, the tocsin was sounded, the *générale* beat, and the alarm guns were fired. All was commotion and terror. The citizens flew to arms, and assembled round the Convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against thirty-five of its members. The day, however, was spent without decision. In the afternoon of the 1st of June, an armed force made the same demand. On the 2d of June, this was repeated, the tocsin again sounded, and 100 pieces of cannon surrounded the National Hall. At last the denounced members were invited to resign voluntarily their character of representatives. Some complied, and the president attempted to dissolve the sitting; but the members were now imprisoned in their own hall. Henriot, commander of the armed force, compelled them to remain; and the obnoxious deputies, amounting to upwards of ninety in number, were put under arrest, and a decree of denunciation against them signed. Thus Paris assumed to itself the whole powers of the French republic; and the nation was no longer governed by the representatives freely chosen, but by a minority of their members, whose sentiments the city of Paris and the Jacobin club had thought fit to approve of.

The Mountain party came into power by preaching liberty, and by violating its fundamental principles; they soon commenced a career of the most terrible energy, both at home and abroad. The first result of their victory in the capital was calamitous to the republic. Bris-

sot and some other deputies escaped, and endeavoured to kindle the flames of civil war: but the influence of the Jacobin club, and its various branches, was such, that the north of France adhered to the convention as it stood; though the southern departments were soon in a state of rebellion. The department of Lyons declared the Mountain party to be outlawed. Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into a confederacy, which has since been known by the appellation of *fæderalism*. The departments of the Gironde and Calvados broke out into open revolt. In short, all France was in a violent convulsion. At this time the political enthusiasm of all orders was such, that even the female sex did not escape its contagion. A young woman, named Charlotte Cordé, in the beginning of July, came from the department of Calvados, to devote her life for what she thought the cause of freedom and of her country. She requested an interview with Marat, the most obnoxious of the Mountain party. Having obtained it, and conversed with him calmly for some time, she suddenly plunged a dagger in his breast, and walked carelessly out of the house. She was immediately seized and condemned. At the place of execution she behaved with the most intrepid constancy, shouting *Vive la République!* The remains of Marat were interred with great splendour, the Convention attending his funeral. His party derived advantage from the manner of his death, as it seemed to fasten the odious charge of assassination upon their antagonists, and gave them the appearance of suffering in the cause of liberty.

One of the first acts of the Mountain junto, after their triumph, was to complete the republican constitution. Previous to their fall, the Girondists had brought forward the plan of a constitution; but it was never sanctioned by the Convention, and was too intricate to be practically useful. The finishing of the constitution, therefore, procured great applause to the Convention and the Mountain party. The rapidity with which it was formed (in a fortnight) seemed to cast a just reproach upon the slowness of their antagonists; and it was regarded as a proof of their being decidedly serious in the cause of republicanism. The Convention, however, disregarded it, and declared itself permanent: thus assum-

ing the whole power of the republic, legislative and executive.

Such was the multiplicity of events that now occurred in France, that it is difficult to state them with perspicuity. The department of Calvados was first in arms against the Convention; but, before the end of July, this insurrection was quieted. Yet the fœderalism of the cities of Marseilles, Lyons, and Toulon, still remained. Lyons was attacked on the 8th of August, though it did not surrender till the 8th of October; when such was the rage of party zeal, that the walls were ordered to be destroyed, and its name changed to that of Ville Affranchie. Many hundreds of its citizens were executed for their resistance; and the victorious party, wearied by the slow operation of the guillotine, at last murdered their prisoners in multitudes, by grape-shot. On the 24th of August, the town of Aix was taken, and the Marseillois submitted. But the leading people of Toulon entered into a negotiation, and submitted to Lord Hood, under condition that he should preserve the town and shipping for Louis XVII. and that he should assist in restoring the constitution of 1789. The allies, however, finding it impossible to defend the place, in the course of the day embarked their troops, after having set on fire the arsenal and ships.

In La Vendée a most bloody war was persisted in by the royalists, whose mode of warfare usually was, after going on in their ordinary occupations, suddenly to assemble in immense bands, insomuch that at one time they amounted to 150,000 men. The war was inconceivably bloody: neither party gave quarter; and La Vendée proved a dreadful scene of slaughter. The royalists were often defeated, and seemingly dispersed, but as often arose in crowds around the astonished republicans; at length, about the middle of October, they were completely defeated, driven from La Vendée, and forced to divide into separate bodies. One of these threw itself into the island of Noirmontier, where they were subdued; another took the road of Maine and Brittany, where they maintained the struggle for some time, but were at last cut to pieces or dispersed. The Mountain party disgraced their successes by dreadful cruelties: no age nor sex was spared; and the execu-
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tions were performed with every circumstance of wanton barbarity.

In the mean time, very violent efforts were made at Paris by the new administration, established under the auspices of the Jacobin club, and of the party called the Mountain. The new republican constitution had been presented to the people in the primary assemblies, and accepted. The business, therefore, for which the Convention was called together, that of forming a constitution for France, was at an end; and it was proposed that they should dissolve themselves, and order a new legislative body to assemble, according to the rules prescribed by that constitution: but the ruling party considered it as hazardous to convene a new assembly, possessing only limited powers, in the distracted state of the country. It was therefore determined that the Convention should remain undissolved till the end of the war; and that a revolutionary government, to be conducted by its members, should be established, with uncontrolled powers. Committees of its own body were selected for the purpose of conducting every department of business. The chief of these committees was called the Committee of Public Safety; it superintended all the rest, and gave to the administration of France all the secrecy and dispatch which have been accounted peculiar to a military government, with a combination of skill and energy hitherto unknown among mankind. A correspondence was kept up with all the Jacobin clubs throughout the kingdom. Commissioners from the Convention were sent into all quarters, with unlimited authority over every order of persons. Thus a government, possessed of infinite vigilance, and more absolute and tyrannical than that of any single despot, was established; and the whole transactions and resources of the state were known to the rulers.

On the 23d of August, the celebrated decree was passed for placing the whole French nation in a state of requisition for the public service. This decree, which was expressed in the most pompous terms, also regulated the organization of this mass: one more tyrannical than this decree was never made by any eastern despot; and the effects of it were truly terrible.

In the end of July, General Custines was tried and executed, in consequence of various accusations of infidelity

to his trust. The Queen was next brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal, on the 15th of October. The charges against her were very various; but the chief tendency of them was to prove that she had always been hostile to the revolution, and had excited all the efforts that had been made by the court against it. On the 16th October 1793, this beautiful woman, whom fortune once placed so high, ended her days on a scaffold, after a mock trial, in which no regard was paid either to justice or decency. She behaved with much dignity and composure, and appeared deeply impressed with a sense of religion. The members of the Convention, who had been at the head of the Girondist party, and had either been detained in prison since the 31st of May, or seized in the departments to which they had retired, were afterwards brought to trial; and on the 30th of October, twenty-one of them were executed; and seventy-one were still detained in prison. The Duke of Orleans was afterwards condemned, on a charge of having aspired to the sovereignty from the beginning of the revolution. His execution gave satisfaction to all parties. The executions of persons of all ranks, particularly of priests and nobles, became now so common, that it would be in vain to attempt to give any detail of them. Every person brought before the revolutionary tribunal was condemned, as a matter of course. The Jacobins seemed insatiable in their thirst for blood, and the people at large appeared to regard their conduct with unaccountable indifference.

The religion of France had been gradually losing its influence; and, on the 7th of November, Gobet, bishop of Paris, with a great multitude of other ecclesiastics, came into the hall of the Convention, and solemnly resigned their functions, and renounced the Christian religion. All the clergymen, whether Protestant or Catholic, who were members of the Convention, followed this example, excepting only Abbé Gregoire, who was one of the first priests that joined the Tiers Etat, after the meeting of the States-General. He had the courage to profess himself a Christian; but added, that the emoluments of his bishopric were at the service of the republic. With acclamations it was decreed, that the only French deities hereafter should be Liberty, Equality, Reason,

Reason, &c. and they seem to have consecrated these as a kind of new objects of worship. The populace, however, could not at once relinquish entirely the religion of their fathers. The commune of Paris ordered the churches to be shut up, but the Convention found it necessary to annul this order; and Robespierre gained great popularity by supporting the liberty of religious worship; but the opposite party hastened their own fall by their ill-judged contempt of popular opinion. For now that the republic was successful in all quarters, when the Mountain party and the Jacobins had no rival at home, and accounted themselves in no immediate danger from abroad, they began to split into factions, and the fiercest jealousies arose.

The Jacobin club was the usual place in which their contests were carried on; and at this time Robespierre acted the part of a mediator between all parties. Thirty committees of the Convention managed the whole business of the state, without sharing much of the direct executive government, which rested in the committee of public safety. These different committees were engaged in the utmost variety of objects: the ruling party had no competitors for power; the most extensive plans were therefore rapidly carried into effect; and the Convention, possessing immense resources, did not hesitate to lavish them upon their schemes. Every science and every art was called upon for aid, and the most accomplished men in every profession were employed in giving splendour to their country.

During the winter, the dissensions of the Jacobins still increased: they were divided into two clubs, of which the one assembled at a hall which once belonged to the Cordeliers; the leaders of it were Herbert, Rousin, Vincent, and others: but the old society retained its ascendancy, and Robespierre was now decidedly its leader. This extraordinary man had gradually accumulated in his own person the confidence of the people and the direction of the government. As the committees were above the Convention, so the committee of public safety was above the other committees. Robespierre was the leader of this ruling committee, the other members only acted a secondary part; they laboured in the state, but the radical power was with Robespierre. He surrounded the members of the Convention with spies: he
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was jealous and implacable, and set no bounds to the shedding of blood. On the 25th of March, he brought to trial several of the most active Jacobins, who were condemned and executed on the following day. Not satisfied with this, on the 2d of April, he brought to trial nine of those who had been his most vigorous associates, who were executed on the evening of the 5th.

The revolutionary system of government had now arrived at the highest power, and proceeded without opposition in its severe and sanguinary measures. On the 10th of May, Madame Elizabeth, sister to the late King, was sacrificed, in consequence of a decree of the revolutionary tribunal. Multitudes of others, of every rank and sex, were daily sacrificed in a similar manner; the rich in particular were the great objects of persecution, because the confiscation of their property added to the strength of the ruling faction: but neither were the poor safe from the bloody vigilance of this new and singular government. By the different executions, Robespierre had destroyed every avowed rival, and his will was irresistible throughout the republic. He met with no opposition in the Convention; for that body, no longer the turbulent popular assembly which it had once appeared, was little more than a name, employed to give some sort of respectability to such schemes as were proposed to it. Yet, amidst this accumulation of seemingly irresistible authority, Robespierre was on the brink of ruin. The whole of the old Girondist party was indeed subdued, but many members of the Convention still remained attached to it. The party of the Mountain, by means of whom Robespierre had risen to power, found themselves not only disregarded, but ready at every instant to fall a sacrifice to that system of terror which they had contributed to erect. Even the Jacobins themselves, though neither timid nor cautious in the shedding of blood, began to murmur, when they saw that awful privilege confined within a few hands, or rather monopolized by an individual. In this state things remained for some time; but one circumstance tended much to accelerate the fall of Robespierre. He had procured a decree to be passed, authorising the committee of public safety to imprison, at its pleasure, and bring to trial, any member of the Convention: the individuals of that body therefore found

found themselves placed by this decree in the hands of a man, whose severe and suspicious temper they well knew. Still, however, they were so much surrounded by spies, that it was difficult to form a party or plan of operations, though even the majority of the committee itself were among the discontented. At length, on the 25th of July 1795, the Convention began to exhibit signs of agitation. It was understood that, in the course of a few days, Robespierre would sacrifice a number of the members to his suspicions. On the 26th, the sitting was still more tempestuous: and on the 27th, St. Just, a member of the committee of public safety, in attempting to defend Robespierre, was repeatedly interrupted; but Billaud Varennes enumerated his crimes, and proclaimed his tyranny. Robespierre in vain attempted to defend himself; he was silenced by shouts of execration from every part of the hall. Tallien seconded the accusations of Varennes; the sitting was declared permanent; and a decree of arrest was passed against Robespierre, his younger brother, St. Just, Couthon, and Lebas. These men left the Convention, and sought security in the hall of the commune of Paris, where the municipal officers agreed to protect them. The tocsin was sounded; and the armed force being under their command, an insurrection was attempted; but the sections of Paris refused their support, and very few of the troops could be collected. The hall of the commune was therefore speedily surrendered; and about three o'clock in the morning of the 28th, Robespierre and his associates were made prisoners. Having been outlawed, on account of their resistance, they were ordered for immediate execution. Sixty of the municipal officers also suffered, for joining in their rebellion. Thus terminated the career of one of the most extraordinary men the French revolution had brought forward; his talents were considerable, but his boundless ambition set at defiance the ordinary feelings of humanity.

After the fall of Robespierre, the Convention exhibited no small change of appearance: instead of that silence which formerly prevailed, all was bustle and noise; the members accused each other, but, as there was no longer any leader, no parties were formed. The reign of terror was at an end, and a system of moderation succeeded.

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The committees were re-organized, and their members ordered to be frequently changed. The correspondence between the Jacobin clubs was prohibited, and at last they were altogether abolished; seventy-one deputies of the Girondist party, who had been imprisoned since the 31st of May 1793, were set at liberty, and some of the agents of Robespierre were punished, particularly Carrier; but still the Convention appeared disunited and undecided.

The fall of Robespierre had been accomplished by two separate conspiracies. At the head of the one were Barrere, Billaud Varennes, and Collot D'Herbois, who had been members of the committee of public safety. The other consisted of members of the Convention who had no immediate share in the administration; among these, Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Lecointre of Versailles, were conspicuous. The popularity of Robespierre had once been so considerable, and all men had submitted so tamely to his dominion, that both parties accounted it necessary to justify to the nation the share they had taken in accomplishing his ruin; and though they retained possession of a considerable portion of power, the current of public opinion ran so strongly against them, and the restoration to their seats of the seventy-one members of the Girondist party added so much to the strength of their antagonists, that they gradually lost their influence. So early as August 1794, Lecointre of Versailles had denounced the members of the old committee in safety: but his accusation produced little effect: though, towards the end of the year, their approaching fall became evident. On the 27th of December 1794, the committees were ordered to report upon the conduct of the representatives denounced by Lecointre and all France. A committee of twenty-one members was therefore appointed to inquire into the conduct of Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Collot D'Herbois, and Vaudier. On the 2d of March 1795, Saladin presented the report of this commission; in which these four deputies were accused of having participated in the tyranny and atrocious measures of Robespierre. Their trial commenced, before the Convention, on the 22d of the same month; but Vaudier had made his escape, and the others rested their defence on the ground
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of being unable to resist Robespierre, and that they were not more culpable, in having acquiesced in his tyranny, than the other members. This defence, with the exception of the cruelties committed by Collot D'Herbois at Lyons, was not destitute of foundation, and had much weight with the nation; not, indeed, as exculpatory of the three persons accused, but as criminating and degrading the character of the whole Convention. The Jacobins defended their leaders with considerable ability; nor were they less active without doors than within. For some time they had drawn their friends to the capital from all quarters of the country; and on the morning of the 1st of April they commenced an open insurrection. An immense multitude, who had assembled in the suburbs, proceeded to the hall of the Convention, where, taking advantage of a scarcity, real or fictitious, which existed at this time, they pretended that they came to petition for bread; this pretence drew numbers along with them who had no share in their designs. Boissy D'Anglas, a conspicuous member of the moderate party, was addressing the Convention on the means of removing the scarcity, when the insurgents arrived, drove the sentinels from their posts, and suddenly filled the hall, tumultuously demanding "Bread, and the constitution!" The Jacobin party supported the insurgents; and one of the multitude, in a vehement harangue, exclaimed, "We are men of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, and of the 31st of May." He then demanded that the Convention should change its late measures; that the people should no longer be the victims of mercantile rapacity; and that the accused patriots should not be sacrificed to the passions of their antagonists. The Convention ordered the tocsin to be rung, to summon the people of Paris to arms; and General Pichegru, being then in Paris, was appointed to command the military force. The citizens, remembering with horror the domination of Robespierre and his adherents, and seeing themselves menaced with a similar tyranny, assembled by six in the evening, to the amount of 20,000 men. Till that moment the Assembly had been under no small disquietude, surrounded by the insurgents, and listening to the addresses of their orators, and the speeches of the Jacobin minority. The majority was now rescued from this state

of constraint; and it was decreed, that Barrere, Collot D'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, should be immediately transported to Guiana. During the following day, the insurgents were subdued; and the majority, taking advantage of the victory, decreed the arrest and confinement of several of the most obnoxious of their antagonists in the castle of Ham, in the late province of Picardy.

The Convention followed up its victory with the popular measure of preparing for its own dissolution, by endeavouring to frame a fixed constitution. The constitution of 1793 was considered as impracticable; and, on the 19th of April, a committee was appointed to frame a new one, on the subject of which all citizens, not members of the Convention, were invited to communicate their ideas. The Convention farther gratified the nation, by bringing to trial Fouquier Jenville the president, and fifteen judges and jurors of the late revolutionary tribunal, who were convicted on the 8th of May, and executed on the 9th, amidst the execrations of a multitude of spectators.

In the mean time, the Jacobins were preparing a new and more extensive insurrection; and the 20th of May was fixed upon as the season of revolt. Thuriot and Cambon, Robespierre's late financier, having escaped from the castle of Ham, came to Paris, and concealed themselves in the suburb of St. Antoine, whence they gave advice to their party, and urged it to action. For some days, the walls of the capital were covered with accusations against the Convention of withholding bread from the people. On the morning of the 20th, the tocsin was rung, and the drums beat to arms in the suburb of St. Antoine, where the Jacobins possessed the greatest strength. Upon this alarm, the Convention assembled; but though the committees of public and general safety now made a report, wherein they acknowledged their previous knowledge of the conspiracy, no vigorous measures of precaution had been taken; for it was only at the instant when the insurgents were approaching, that General Hoche was appointed to command the armed force, and sent to assemble the military and citizens for the defence of the Convention. In the mean time, the multitude surrounded the hall, over-

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powered the guards, and burst in among the members. In all the turbulent days of the revolution, the women of Paris never failed to act a conspicuous part. They augmented the crowd by their numbers, and increased the tumult by their cries of "Bread, and the constitution of 1793!" After some fruitless efforts to restore tranquillity, Vernier, the president, an old man, resigned the chair to Boissy D'Anglas, who remained in it with much firmness during the day. The whole strength of the insurgents not having arrived at once, a short interval of tranquillity was obtained; but the attack was speedily renewed with double fury by armed men, who entered the hall with cockades, on which was written, "Bread, and the constitution of 1793!" In this crisis, a citizen of the Convention party rashly tore off the hat of one of the insurgents, and fled towards the president's chair, but was killed at its side by a musquet-shot. Ferrand, a member who had attempted to rescue him, was also killed, and his head brought into the Convention on a pike. The greater number of the members now departed, and left the insurgents in possession of the hall, where they acted with some regularity, and decreed a variety of laws favourable to their party. Their triumph, however, lasted only a few hours; for, towards the evening, a large body of citizens having joined the military, they marched to the Convention, where they overcame the insurgents, and restored the powers of the majority. The decrees that had been forced upon them were repealed; and the deputies who had proposed, or supported them, were arrested.

The citizens of Paris, and even the members of the Convention, now supposing their victory to be complete, adopted no adequate measures to prevent a new disturbance. But the Jacobins did not so easily give up their cause; for, on the following day, they assembled in the suburbs, and in the afternoon returned to the attack, took possession of the Carousel without opposition, and pointed some pieces of cannon against the hall of the Convention. This assembly, now unprotected, sent a deputation to the insurgents, bearing two decrees, passed at that instant, purporting that bread should abound, and that Robespierre's constitution of 1793 should immediately be put in force. The insurgents, on their

part, sent a deputation to the Convention, to express their satisfaction at the decrees, and to demand the release of the imprisoned patriots, with the punishment of those who preferred money to assignats; to all which the Convention pretended to agree. On the 23d, the citizens assembled at their sections, whence they hastened to the Thuilleries, to defend the Convention. Considerable bodies of the military were also collected, and the Assembly at last resolved to act upon the offensive. A decree was passed, declaring, that if the suburb of St. Antoine did not instantly surrender its arms and cannon, together with the murderers of Ferrand, it should be considered as in a state of rebellion; and the Conventional generals were ordered to reduce it by force. The insurgents, now finding themselves unequal to the contest, were compelled to surrender by the inhabitants of the suburb, who dreaded the destruction of their property by military operations. Six members of the Convention were tried and condemned by a military commission; of whom three perished by self-slaughter, and three were executed. The majority of the Convention, elated at their victory, ordered Collot D'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, and Barrere, to be brought back to take their trial; but the two former had sailed before the arrival of the courier, and Barrere alone was retaken and imprisoned.

The Jacobins in the south were not less active than their brethren at Paris; for, on the 20th of May, they formed a vigorous insurrection at Toulon, which they took possession of, and then marched towards Marseilles; but, being defeated on their way by General Charton, Toulon was speedily reduced to order.

The party of the Mountain, or violent Jacobins, who wished to revive the reign of terror, was now very much reduced, both in and out of the Convention: those who adhered to it were in many places, especially in the south, exposed to very violent persecutions. Associations were formed, called "Companies of Jesus and the Sun," for the purpose of avenging the crimes committed by them during the period of their power; and at Lyons, and other places, several of them were massacred in the prisons.

The decrees for forming and putting in force the new constitution

constitution could not decently be recalled; but the majority of the Convention set about devising means for rendering them of little importance. On the 23d of June, the committee appointed to prepare the plan of a constitution presented their report: it consisted of fourteen chapters, prefaced, like the former constitutions, with a declaration of the rights of man. The primary assemblies were to possess the right of electing the members of the electoral assemblies; and the justices of the peace, and the electoral assemblies, were to nominate the judges and legislators of the state. The legislature was divided into two assemblies; the one called *the Council of Ancients*; the other, *the Council of Five Hundred*. The executive power was entrusted to five persons, styled the *Executive Directory*. The public functionaries were to receive salaries, and to appear dressed in appropriate habits. Each article of this constitution was separately discussed; and, on the 23d of August, the whole was declared to be complete, and ordered to be transmitted to the primary assemblies, for their approbation.

Great confusion now arose respecting a decree, by which the electors were to be bound to choose two-thirds of the new legislature from among the members of the Convention. This was opposed by the sections of Paris; and about 100 of the electors assembled in the hall of the French theatre, in the suburb of St. Germain, previous to the day appointed, where they chose Citizen Nivernois (the *çi-devant* Duke de Nivernois) for their president, and began their debates; but a body of the military, sent by the Convention, soon occasioned them to disperse.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the sections still regarded the Convention with contempt, and the members themselves entertained some jealousy of the military. They, therefore, had recourse to a new ally, and besought the aid of those very Jacobins whom they had almost crushed on the 24th of May. Several hundreds of them were, therefore, liberated from prison; and when the sections of Paris beheld the Convention surrounded by those who had been the unrelenting agents of Robespierre, they assembled in arms, on the 4th of October. The Convention, however, resolved to strike
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the first blow ; and, with this view, sent General Menou to the section of Le Pelletier, where the greatest force of the citizens was assembled. But this officer, disliking the service, instead of proceeding to action, began to negotiate, and spent the evening in fruitless conferences with the leaders of the section. During the night, General Menou, Raffet, and some others, were suspended ; and the command of the troops was given to Barras, who immediately collected around him a variety of able officers, among whom were Generals Le Brun and Buonaparte, and began to provide for a most vigorous defence. On the 13th of Vendemiaire (October 5th), from which day the insurrection was afterwards named, both parties remained for many hours upon the defensive ; till, about three o'clock in the afternoon, General Danican, who had been appointed by the sections, proposed an accommodation ; to which a civil message was returned. But the Jacobins in the Convention, being now more confident of victory, and wishing to strengthen themselves by the defeat and punishment of their antagonists, resolved that the dispute should be decided by arms. The armed Jacobins are most generally understood to have begun the attack. The combat was extremely obstinate, the cannon being repeatedly seized by the citizens, and retaken by the troops ; nor was it till after a contest of four hours that the sections were repulsed, and driven to St. Roche ; which post was also taken, after great slaughter, and the sections were driven to their head-quarters of Le Pelletier, whither they were pursued by the troops of the Convention, and by midnight the latter were masters of the whole city.

This insurrection was ascribed by the victorious party to the exertions of the royalists ; and, indeed, it is probable that the royalists mingled in a contest which had for its object the overthrow of the Convention : but the insurgents in general seem neither to have avowed nor entertained any farther view than the disarming of the Jacobins, and the obtaining an immediate election of new representatives.

The failure of this attempt had the effect of placing the Mountain party once more at the head of the state.

On the 27th of October, the Convention terminated
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its sittings, and was succeeded by the new legislature. By its last decree, a general amnesty was granted for all revolutionary crimes, with the exception of emigrants, transported priests, and persons concerned in the last insurrection; so that, in fact, it was merely a pardon granted by the Mountain party to its own friends, for all the excesses they had committed. The members of the Convention, who had been imprisoned since the Jacobin insurrection of May, were now set at liberty; and those of the revolutionary committees, and other agents of Robespierre, were advanced to the most important offices under the new government.

As soon as the new legislature had divided itself into two councils, it proceeded to the election of an Executive Directory, when Sieyes, Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, and Letourneur de la Manche, were chosen; but Sieyes having refused to accept the office, Carnot was elected in his stead.

The republican government, thus attempted to be established, promised little tranquillity to the nation: for the members of the Directory, with the exception of Reveillere Lepaux, had always belonged to the Jacobins; and, as they owed their present exaltation to that party, they employed its members in almost every official department.

On the 9th of June, the Dauphin, Louis XVII. died in the prison of the Temple, where he and his sister had remained confined after the execution of their father, mother, and aunt. His death excited such a degree of interest in the French nation, in favour of his family, that the Convention found it expedient to liberate his sister; and the committee of public safety proposed to the Emperor to exchange this princess against the deputies whom Dumourier had delivered up, and two ambassadors, Simonville and Maret, who had been seized on their way to Turkey. This proposal was accepted, and the exchange took place at Basle.

The Mountain party being once more possessed of power, its members exerted themselves with their usual energy. Such, however, was the turbulent character of these men, that they soon became weary of the Directory, which they themselves had established. They held clubs in all quarters, and were continually disturbing the public

public tranquillity. The Directory at length became alarmed by the numerous complaints against them, and resolved to desert a set of men who could not be prevailed upon to act with moderation. The violent Jacobins were in general, therefore, dismissed from the service of government; and a body of troops amounting to 10,000 men, called *the Legion of Police*, which had acted against the Parisians on the 5th of October, and was now devoted to the Jacobins, was ordered to join the armies on the frontiers. The violent Jacobins, enraged at these measures, began to organize a plot for the overthrow of the Directory; but they were not prepared for action before May 1796, by which time their designs had been discovered and counteracted. Among the leaders of this conspiracy, who were arrested, were Drouet, the postmaster, who had detained the unfortunate Louis XVI. By the connivance of the Directory, this man, with some others, escaped; and the rest were removed for trial to the high national court at Vendôme, where they were condemned.

France now held a very elevated rank, and a formidable character, among the nations of Europe. Spain, Italy, and Holland, were held in dependence; while her victorious armies had compelled Austria, the last continental member of the coalition, to accept of peace, dictated by an army that approached her capital. All these external advantages, however, were speedily lost to the French nation; whose unhappy destiny it was, to be constantly deprived of the fruits of all its sufferings and courage, by the turbulence of domestic factions, and the profligacy and unprincipled conduct of its rulers. A serious contest between the executive power and the legislature was fast approaching. The majority of the Directory, and of the councils, were in a state of complete hostility; and both parties resolved to violate the constitution, under the pretence of preserving it. The one wished to change the Directory before the time prescribed by law; and the other, to deprive a great number of the new legislators, elected by the people, of their seats.

At length the partizans of the contending factions began to distinguish themselves by their dress, and every thing presaged an appeal to force. On the 20th of July, the

the councils received intelligence, that a division of the army of General Hoche had advanced within a few leagues of Paris; whereas, by the constitution, the Directory incurred the penalty of ten years' imprisonment, if it authorized troops to approach nearer than twelve leagues to the residence of the legislative body, without its own consent. The Directory denied that they had ordered the march, and ascribed it to a mistake of the officer by whom it was conducted; their explanation was treated with contempt, and much angry debate took place in the councils. The Directory, however, having procured an address of adherence from the suburb of St. Antoine, which, in all the tempestuous days of the revolution, had been the rallying point of the Mountain, were encouraged to proceed to immediate action; and General Augereau, who had been sent from Italy with some Austrian standards, was employed as their tool. They also commanded the garrison of Paris, and had brought over to their party the soldiers of the guard of the two councils.

Before day-break, on the morning of the 4th of August, Augereau surrounded the Thuilleries with troops; the guard of the councils refused to resist; and their commander, Ramel, was taken prisoner. On entering the hall, Augereau found Pichegru, and twelve other chiefs of the opposite party, in consultation, whom he sent immediately as prisoners to the Temple, with some other obnoxious members of the councils; the director Carnot had escaped on the preceding evening; but Barthelemy remained, and was imprisoned. All this was done without noise; so that many members of the councils, when they came to the hall at the usual hour, were surprised to find the doors sealed. They were invited, however, to the surgeons' hall, and the theatre of the Odeon, where the Directory had appointed the councils to assemble. At these places about forty of the Ancients, and eighty of the other council, assembled about noon, and sent to demand of the Directory an account of the proceedings of the morning. They received an answer, declaring that what had been done was necessary to the salvation of the republic, and congratulating the councils on their escape from the machinations of royalists. Being still at a loss how to act, the council of Five Hun-

dred appointed a committee of four members to report upon the measures to be adopted. On the following day, a report was presented from this committee, announcing that a vast royalist conspiracy, whose centre was in the bosom of the councils, had been formed to overturn the constitution; but that it had been baffled by the wisdom and activity of the Directory; and proposed the immediate transportation of the conspirators, without trial. This proposition was adopted; and fifty-three of their members, and twelve other persons, among whom were the directors Carnot and Barthelemy, were voted to be sent to Guiana, in South America. The council also annulled the elections in forty-nine departments, repealed the laws lately enacted in favour of the disaffected clergy and the relations of emigrants, and put all periodical publications under the inspection of the police for one year. New taxes were voted without hesitation; Francis de Neufchateau and Merlin were elected to fill the vacancies in the Directory; and affairs were endeavoured to be placed in their ordinary train. All this time the city of Paris remained tranquil; though it was obvious, that France had passed under the dominion of a small faction, at variance with the majority of the people.

Having brought down our account of the French revolution to this period, it will be unnecessary to proceed further at present, as abundant opportunities will offer in our Memoirs of Napoleon Buonaparte; it may be proper to observe, however, that no subsequent alteration in the government took place, until the revolution which led to the Consulship, at the head of which was Napoleon. We now return to the illustrious subject of our present biography.

It appears that Louis XVIII. interfered but little with politics, until the growing discontents of the French people had prepared them for the revolution we have just described. His first measures appear to have been in opposition to the rising liberties of the people, for, in the first assembly of the Notables, he declared himself hostile to any interference with the privileges of the nobility and clergy: he, however, was against laying any additional taxes upon the people, which it was the object in assembling the Notables to do; declaring his conviction

conviction that, by regularity and economy, every financial difficulty might be removed. Calonne, who was the minister at that period, was extremely anxious for the success of his financial measures, and in his attempts to bring over Monsieur, went so far as to use the King's name and authority upon the subject. Monsieur replied in a dignified manner, "My heart is alike my brother's and the people's, but my understanding is my own; as for my head, it is the King's."

In the earlier part of the revolution, Monsieur resided at a distance from the capital; but when this terrible volcano burst out in 1789, he removed to Paris, and supported, as well as he was able, the tottering fortunes of his brother. Finding, however, that the calamitous state of affairs left but little hopes of restoring the fallen fortunes of his house, he was at last compelled to make his escape from France, which he was only able to accomplish by the assistance of Count de Fersen, a Swede. Previous to this, all the members of the royal family had gradually withdrawn from the kingdom, leaving the unfortunate Louis a prey to his implacable enemies; it is not to be doubted but this gradual desertion (if it may be so called) was the means of bringing affairs to that terrible crisis which afterwards happened, as it afforded an opportunity to the enemies of the royal family, of instilling into the minds of the people alarms and jealousies, which unhappily there was too much cause for. Soon after the escape of Monsieur, an attempt was made by the King and Queen also to emigrate, which we have seen was frustrated by the vigilance and sagacity of the postmaster Drouet: this attempt on the part of their Majesties had been previously concerted before the flight of Monsieur, and it is therefore but an act of justice to Louis XVIII. to exonerate him from the imputation of having deserted his brother at a time when he most needed the assistance of his friends.

The exiled members of the royal family were now placed in military array against the government of France; and at Coblenz a powerful emigrant force was collected under Monsieur, where he was joined by the Count d'Artois, and the other branches of the house of Bourbon, except that of Orleans, which had unaccountably

countably deserted the interests of their family, by the defection of their head, the unprincipled Egalité.

As soon as it was known that Monsieur had emigrated, the National Assembly decreed, that he had forfeited his eventual right to the regency, if he did not return in two months; he, however, was too wise to trust himself in the hands of his implacable enemies. The energy displayed by the French government, and the enthusiasm of the people in the cause of liberty, left but little hopes to Louis of being able to effect any good purpose with the emigrant force which he had collected; he accordingly desisted from all attempts to recover his rights, and determined to await for more propitious times. He was, however, destined to endure many unpleasant mortifications, and few places in Europe were found capable of sheltering him from the fury and resentment of the republicans.

Having married Maria Josepha Louisa, the daughter of Victor Amadeus III. King of Sardinia, Louis repaired for shelter to that court; but here he had not been long, before the successes of the French armies obliged him to quit the court of Turin. From this place he repaired to Verona, in the Venetian territory, from whence he was compelled to retreat by the arrogance of Buonaparte, who demanded of the Venetian government, that Louis should have no protection in their state.

Before he quitted the Venetian territory, Louis (who had now assumed the title of Count de Lille) demanded admission to the Golden Book of the senate, which contained the names of all the Venetian nobles. In that book, his great-grandfather's grandfather, the gallant Henry IV. had once inscribed his name, and the name of Bourbon. These Louis indignantly erased from their records, shewing that even in adversity he had not lost a sense of what was due to his rank and birth as well as to his misfortunes.

Louis, being now forced to seek some other place of refuge, accepted an offer from the Emperor Paul of Russia, of a protection in his dominions. On his journey through Germany to his new asylum, he appears to have been still pursued with republican rancour; for, whilst on his route in the summer of 1797, being at the window of an inn in an obscure village, a shot was fired at him
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which slightly wounded him in the head. Undismayed by this attempt on his life, he displayed a magnanimity which is truly astonishing: he forbade all search to be made after the assassin, observing, "It must either be a mistake or a premeditated crime: in the former case it would be cruel to pursue; and in the latter, as I have done no harm to any human being, the person who would murder me has punishment enough in his own bosom, and wants my forgiveness more than I do his death."

The war between Russia and France, in 1798, was favourable to Louis; for the usual policy in such cases was adopted by the Russian Emperor, of countenancing pretensions to the government of the country with which he was at war. Paul accordingly offered him an asylum at Mittau in Livonia, which Louis gladly accepted, his health being considerably impaired by the privations and fatigues he had undergone. The conduct of the Emperor Paul was at first highly magnanimous and generous: he ordered every demonstration of respect to be paid to his illustrious guest, and commanded him to be treated with all the honours due to a sovereign; he ordered a guard of native Russians to attend him, as well as a corps composed of French noblesse; he allowed him also to draw around him as many of his adherents as he pleased, with whom Louis shared the liberal bounty that had been appropriated to his use. So anxious, indeed, was the Russian Emperor for the happiness and comfort, as well as the security of the Prince, that he actually placed the governor of Mittau under his orders, and encouraged Louis to assume the appearance and functions of royalty. He accordingly held regular levees, at which the nobility of the provinces around attended.

This ephemeral prosperity of Louis was of short duration; for the fickle-minded Paul was unable to withstand the intrigues that were practised by the French republicans, who were extremely jealous of the countenance that was given to the French monarch. The success of their intrigues soon became apparent in the conduct of Paul, whom they persuaded, first, to distress the unhappy monarch by withholding the payment of his pension, and, afterwards, to send him orders to quit the Russian dominions; for which he was allowed only a week's preparation.

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This conduct of Paul appears to have been instigated by Buonaparte, the implacable enemy of the House of Bourbon. But Louis, with a pride highly honourable to him, determined not to remain twenty-four hours longer in the Russian dominions: he felt not so much for himself as for those of his subjects who had adhered to his fortunes, and who were dependent upon him for support. It was not for his loyal subjects alone that Louis felt anxious, his own family claimed his support, and particularly the amiable Duchess of Angoulême, who had long resided with him at Mittau, along with her young husband. To her Louis had recourse in his present distressed situation; and, having explained to her the circumstances under which he laboured, and assured her that he had not the means of travelling as he had formerly done, and as the small means he possessed would be necessary for the daily maintenance of those attached to him, so he would himself shew them an example how to bear misfortune, for that the next day he would leave Mittau on foot. The duty and affection of his niece, however, would not allow her uncle to be exposed to the inconvenience and hardships that this mode of travelling would expose him to; she accordingly sold to a Jew a valuable box of diamonds, which was presented to her as a nuptial gift by her imperial relations at Vienna, by which means she raised a sum that enabled Louis not only to travel comfortably, but also to provide for the wants of his loyal subjects who were left at Mittau.

From Mittau, Louis wandered about to different places, pursued by the hostility of the usurper of his throne; at last he was permitted to reside at the castle of the dethroned King of Poland, at Warsaw, where, in more favourable times, one of his own ancestors, Henry III. had ruled as a King.

During his residence at Warsaw, Buonaparte, who was then first consul, had the effrontery to make proposals to Louis to abdicate his throne; and, not content with the refusal he justly met with, his influence at the court of Prussia was so great, that the Prussian president, Meyer, was appointed to urge to his Majesty the same proposal, and to offer to him on the part of the first consul, for the abdication of his crown, an indemnification in Poland or Italy, or a considerable *bonus* in money.

money. To these applications his Majesty made the following reply:—

“ I do not confound Monsieur Buonaparte with those that preceded him. I esteem his talents and military virtues. I am thankful for some acts of his administration; as the good which shall be done to my people, will always be dear to me. But he deceives himself if he hopes to engage me to renounce my duties; so far from effecting that, he would establish them himself, could they even have been doubtful, by the step he has just taken. I am ignorant of the designs of God for me, and for my people; but I know the obligations he has imposed on me. A Christian, I shall fulfil all their duties to my latest breath; a son of St. Louis, I shall know how to respect myself even in chains; a successor of St. Francis I. I desire always to say with him—*All is lost, save honour.*”

When the present magnanimous Emperor Alexander succeeded to the throne, the situation of Louis was much ameliorated; ample and generous allowances being afforded to him and the few followers of his fortune, of which, however, he was very sparing.

Buonaparte, who had now secured to himself the throne of the Bourbons, felt himself very insecure whilst any of the exiled family lived to lay claim to it; he accordingly, during the King's residence at Warsaw, made attempts to have him poisoned. This circumstance, and the manner of carrying the diabolical design into effect, is of so curious a nature, that we cannot withhold the particulars from our readers.

On the 22d of July, the Baron de Milleville, Equerry to the Queen of France, disclosed to the Duc de Pienne, the plot, as it had been denounced to him by a person of the name of Coulon, a Frenchman, a native of Lyons, who, after having been in the service of the said Baron de Milleville had married a Polish woman, and settled at Warsaw, where he kept a billiard-table. This man stated, that on the preceding Friday, the 20th, two persons came to his billiard-room, and made many inquiries of him, relative to the King, and his own situation; that the following day they returned, and made fresh inquiries respecting Louis XVIII. They wished, they said, to know whether his Majesty went out often—by what
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number of men he was usually accompanied—and whether his attendants were armed, or not? They then asked Coulon, whether he himself was in debt, and whether he would not be glad to find an opportunity to obtain immediately a considerable sum of money for a particular service? Being answered in the affirmative, they observed to him that, as he was known to the persons belonging to the household of the King, he might easily obtain admission into the kitchen; and if he consented to throw, unperceived, into the boiler (*la marmite*) a little parcel which would be given to him, his fortune would be made: 400 louis d'ors would be given to him in the first instance, and 100 more for every individual of the royal family who might die in the course of a twelvemonth. They added, that he was not to trouble himself about his wife, for they would take her safely to France; and when they were about to part, he heard them say in Italian, “We have no time to lose; the day is come when we ought to strike.”

On the following day (Tuesday the 22d), after many visits from them, another ruffian, whom Coulon had not before seen, called on him in the evening, and requested him to take a walk with him, in order that they might speak more freely on a subject of great concern, which had been mentioned to him the preceding day. In the course of their walk, they were met by one of the two who had first opened the project to Coulon.

Considering him a man discontented with his lot, and ready to catch at any chance that promised better, they unfolded to him the secret which was to make his fortune. “You are well acquainted,” said they, “with the cook of Louis XVIII. Upon your next visit to him, about the hour when he is preparing dinner, throw two carrots which we will give you into the kettle in which the soup is boiled for the Pretender’s table. If he shall die in a given time after, you shall receive 400 louis d’ors; but should his wife, with the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême, share his fate, 1200 louis d’ors shall be paid to you by Monseieur Boyer, Commercial Commissary to the Emperor of the French in this city. Do not apprehend any punishment from the success of the attempt. You reside in a country, the sovereign of which is the steady and sincere friend of Napoleon the First,
and

and whose ministers are as much attached to France as to their own country. As to remorse of conscience, the fortune that has seated Buonaparte upon the throne of France will support him there, and shew that he deserves it; and Providence and Fortune are the same. The Bourbon race are proscribed by destiny; and therefore, in dispatching them, you serve the Divinity. You might, perhaps, apprehend the vengeance of other Bourbons, who reside in England; but you ought to know, that their destroyers follow them as their shades; and, although they are still among the living, the grave is dug ready to swallow its victims, and they shall only live to see the day of Buonaparte's coronation. This is the time appointed by the Eternal FOR AN UNIVERSAL CHANGE OF DYNASTIES OVER THE WORLD; and, before ten years, not a Prince will reign, who was not, ten years before, an unnoticed subject. The Emperor of the French can never rule with safety, until fortune and merit have taken the place of birth-right and prerogatives, until all the present sovereigns shall have been dethroned or annihilated, and individuals like himself placed upon their thrones. "Do not think" said they, "that what we promise are the sudden and insignificant sentiments of men imposed upon, or impostors themselves. We are members of Buonaparte's secret police, whose influence extends to all countries, to all ranks, who distribute indemnities among the Germans, who prepared the death of the Duke of Enghien, the disgrace of Drake, and the elevation of a Parmasan Prince to the throne of Etruria." In the course of an entertainment, which lasted from three o'clock until nine, these and other such sentiments were infused into his mind; and, with a view to complete by terror what temptation might leave unfinished, they produced pistols, daggers, and poison, intimating at the same time, that not only the suspected traitor, but the man who proved lukewarm in the cause of the Emperor of the French, should certainly perish. Their unfortunate guest assented to every thing they said, as well from policy as from necessity.

Coulon insisted on receiving some money, on account of the 400 louis which had been promised him; upon which one of the ruffians, who was in liquor, said "I

don't know whether Boyer" (the name of the commercial agent at Warsaw) "would consent to give so large a sum." His companion, condemning this indiscretion, replied, "Why do you mention Boyer? he is not in town; he will not return these two days." At last they gave him a ducat to get some wine to drink with the cook, and made an appointment for the following night, when they were to give him the parcel, which was to be thrown into the boiler. They parted at one o'clock in the morning.

The same day (Sunday) Coulon disclosed the plot to the Baron de Milleville, and the Duc de Pienne, by whom it was communicated to Comte D'Avaray, Captain of the Guards to Louis XVIII. who hastened to inform M. de Hoym, president of the chamber, and governor of the town, of the circumstance, and who had orders from his Prussian Majesty for superintending all the concerns and safety of the French royal family.

At first, the president Hoym received the information with the most feeling emotion, and promised to mount his horse, and repair personally, either to the place of rendezvous fixed by the ruffians to give the poison to Coulon, or to the spot appointed for paying him the money and setting off for France. He also promised to send persons to secure the whole gang, and Coulon himself, in case he should have forged the story in order to obtain a reward. The sensibility of the president Hoym was highly increased by the alarming reports which were spread every day, of plots to take away the life of the King at the eve of his departure for Russia.

The 23d of July, Coulon, being ordered by the Baron de Milleville, went to the appointed spot, at a place called the New Village, situated in the middle of the lines which surround Warsaw; there he was joined by one of the men, and soon after by another, who was concealed in a corn field, and who actually delivered him the parcel, and a bottle of liquor for his own use. They agreed upon a signal, by which they were to know when the deed had been effected. They told him, that when it was executed, he might repair to a place called *Les Cinq Potences*, where he would be joined by his employers, and taken to France with his wife; and in case they could

could not meet there, he was to go to Stockayer, where he would find them at the postmaster's house, and that he should there receive the 400 louis. Upon his asking for some money, they gave him only six crowns, alleging that they had been already cheated more than once.

The president Hoym, however, afraid of committing his master with the French Emperor, declined either to go or send to the appointed spot, contrary to his promise. Coulon delivered the parcel and the bottle to M. de Milleville, on the 24th, in the morning. The Comte D'Avaray went at ten o'clock to M. de Hoym's, and presented him the parcel, which contained three carrots charged with arsenic. M. de Hoym, from excess of fear, refused to interfere any further in the business, saying, it should be referred to the police office; and even refused to affix his seal to the parcel, which was sealed by the Archbishop of Rheims and the Comte D'Avaray.

On that day Louis XVIII. was informed of the plot. His Majesty expressed the greatest and the most tender solicitude for his faithful servants, but displayed an unalterable tranquillity of mind with respect to his own personal safety. He wrote to the president, Hoym, who did not wait on his Majesty till the following day, and then confined himself to vague assurances that the business should be followed up with activity by the police officers.

A formal demand was made by the King, that a report should be made by an assembly of professional men, respecting the contents of the parcel; which demand being answered in an evasive manner, the King ordered that the parcel should be opened and examined before his own physician, M. Le Faire, aided by M. Gagaktiewish, the most eminent and respectable physician of Warsaw, Dr. Bergenzoni, and Dr. Guteil, an apothecary. One of the carrots being opened, was found perfectly sound, the upper part being covered with a kind of mastich or paste, of a colour similar to that of the root; the middle part was found to contain a powder, which, after a chemical operation, was discovered to be a mixture of three different sorts of arsenic, one white, another yellow, and another red. The *proces verbal* was signed by all present, and the parcel sealed again, and sent to the police office with

all the necessary documents. Upon application being made by the King to M. de Tilly, chief magistrate, for a prosecution to be instituted, that officer, actuated by the same fears as M. de Hoym, declined to interfere, or even to order the suspected persons to be apprehended, observing, that it did not concern the Tribunal of Criminal Justice, and that the law of the country did not permit him to arrest any person who had not actually been *convicted* of a crime!

The course of events had now assumed so unpromising an aspect, from the great and decided influence of Buonaparte on the continent, and upon the councils of those powers who were best able to afford protection to Louis, that the unfortunate monarch was at last compelled to seek a refuge in England, where he was certain of being received with all that hospitality which was due to his misfortunes, and which it became the duty of a great and magnanimous country to afford him. He accordingly repaired to England, where his reception was of a nature the most gratifying to his feelings. Here he resided for some years, gaining by his conduct the esteem of all who approached his person, and awaiting the time which Providence had ordained for his restoration to the throne of his ancestors. During his residence in England, Louis made no attempt to recover his throne; but, occasionally, that his claims might not be forgotten, and that mankind might not suppose he had relinquished them, he issued proclamations to his deluded people. Unhappily, however, the trammels they were entangled in by the policy, craft, and power of their great enslaver, afforded no opportunity of giving effect to the appeals and calls of their lawful monarch.

The time was now approaching, when the constancy and misfortunes of this illustrious personage and his august family were to be rewarded in the fullest measure their wishes could anticipate. It was not difficult to foresee, that the boundless ambition of Napoleon, if it did not suddenly work his destruction, must necessarily have that tendency; and that his allies, constrained to adopt his policy, more by terror than inclination, would seize any opportunity that might be afforded to them of shaking off their yoke. Affairs however, it was possible, might have continued for a long time favourable to
Napoleon,

Napoleon, and his ill-acquired power might have been preserved to him, and possibly have been transmitted to his heirs, had not Providence endowed him with a mind and disposition which most effectually worked his own fall. Previous to his attack upon Russia, which was the immediate forerunner of his own ruin, his power appeared to be cemented, and to stand upon a foundation which nothing could shake. The terror of his arms had so subdued all his external enemies, that he had nothing to fear from any hostility abroad. It is true, his affairs in Spain and Portugal were not of a complexion so favourable to him, yet many opportunities presented themselves to enable him to retire from this conflict with a good grace, and which he well knew how to cover over with a specious pretext. If we turned our view to his domestic empire, what could we find but a most entire submission to his will. His great victories and splendid achievements had no doubt acquired for him the admiration of a great portion of his subjects; those who were of opposite sentiments, and devoted to the interests of their lawful Monarch, were effectually kept under by that system and force which he had successfully grafted upon his government. Besides, the army, which is the usual prop and support of usurpers, was so entirely devoted to him, that any combination at home against his authority must have ended in the entire destruction of the projectors. He had also so contrived, by bestowing honours and estates upon those devoted to his interests, that a most powerful body was raised eager to support, as connected with their own elevation, the fortune of their Imperial Master. How hopeless then must have been the expectations of Louis! and how distant the prospect of his ever recovering his rights, under the unfavourable aspect which every where presented itself to his view! No human effort appeared to be possible to restore him to his throne; and he seemed destined ever to remain an exile, without even hope to sweeten the bitterness of his misfortunes. An amazing revolution was however preparing, which was to restore to his right this persecuted monarch; and a train of events, as unexpected as sudden, led to a consummation which no human foresight could have anticipated—the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of France.

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In the preceding Memoirs which we have given, we have amply detailed the circumstances which *led* to this great event, it will now be our business, in the life of Louis XVIII. to give the particulars of this memorable occurrence, which holds, and must ever continue to hold, the first place in the page of history; and what, in its consequences and future effects, must have a powerful operation on the future destinies of the world.

After the capitulation and fall of Paris, it was easily foreseen that Napoleon's dynasty would be extinguished; it was not, however, a matter of so much certainty, what would be the conduct of the French, when left to themselves to elect a new form of government. The allied monarchs, with a moderation that has no parallel in history, were resolved not to interfere in their choice. It is true, they declared they would not treat with Napoleon, and therefore, in effect, had decreed his dethronement. This conduct, however, could not be considered a departure from that moderation which they had professed to follow, as they had, no doubt, a right to prescribe in what manner they would make peace with France; and this right they fairly exercised in their declaration, of not treating with their capital enemy. The French people being thus left to themselves, and the terror which Napoleon had impressed them with no longer operating upon their minds, they, without hesitation, determined upon the recall of their lawful sovereign. On the 1st of April 1814, the Senate met at half past three, in consequence of an extraordinary convocation, when the Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand), their president, addressed them as follows:—

“ SENATORS—The letter which I have had the honour of addressing to each of you to inform you of this extraordinary convocation, acquaints you with the object of it. It is intended to lay proposals before you. This one word sufficiently points out the liberty which each of you brings into this assembly. It gives you the means to give a generous flow (*essor*) to the sentiments with which the soul of each of you is filled—the desire of saving your country, and the resolution of hastening to the assistance of a forsaken people.

“ Senators—Circumstances, however difficult they may be, cannot be above the firm and enlightened patriotism

triotism of all the members of this assembly. You have, doubtless, all equally felt the necessity of a deliberation which may shut the door against all delay, and which may not let a day pass without re-establishing the action of the administration, the first of all wants, for the formation of a government, whose authority, founded on the necessities of the moment, cannot but re-assure people's minds."

After this address, the Senate immediately decreed—

" 1st. That there shall be established a Provisional Government, charged to provide for the wants of the administration, and to present to the Senate the plan of a Constitution which may suit the French people.

" 2. That the Government shall consist of Five Members; and then proceeding to their nomination, the Senate elects for members of the Provisional Government, M. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento; Count de Bournonville, Senator; Count de Jaucourt, Senator; Duke of Dalberg, Counsellor of State; M. de Montesquieu, ancient member of the Constituent Assembly.

" They are proclaimed in this quality by the Prince Vice Grand Elector, President."

And further, upon the motion of one of its members, it was also decreed—

" 1. That the Senate and Legislative Body are declared integral parts of the intended Constitution, subject to the modifications which shall be judged necessary to ensure the liberty of the suffrages and opinions.

" 2. That the army, as well as the retired officers and soldiers, shall retain the ranks, honours, and pensions, which they enjoy.

" 3. That the public debt shall be inviolable.

" 4. That the sale of the national domains shall be irrevocably maintained.

" 5. That no Frenchman shall be made answerable for the public opinions which he may have expressed.

" 6. That the liberty of worship and of conscience shall be maintained and proclaimed, as well as the liberty of the press, subject to the legal repression of the crimes which may arise from the abuse of that liberty.

" 7. These different proposals, seconded by several members, were put to the vote by the Prince Vice Grand Elector, and adopted by the Senate."

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From these early proceedings of the Senate, no doubt could remain as to the restoration of Louis; and all France hastened to give in its adhesion to the Provisional Government that had been just formed.

On the 6th of April the Senate decreed the new Constitution; its acceptance by the King was made a condition of his restoration to the throne. It consisted of the following twenty-nine articles.

“ Conservative Senate.

“ The Conservative Senate, deliberating upon the Plan of Constitution presented to it by the Provisional Government, in execution of the Act of the Senate of the 1st instant, after having heard the report of a Special Commission of seven members, decrees as follows:

“ Art. 1. The French Government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture.

“ 2. The French people call freely to the throne of France, Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, brother to the last King, and after him the other members of the House of Bourbon, in the ancient order.

“ 4. The ancient Nobility resume their titles. The new preserve their's hereditarily. The Legion of Honour is maintained with its prerogatives. The King shall fix the decoration.

“ 4. The executive power belongs to the King.

“ 5. The King, the Senate, and the Legislative Body, concur in the making of laws.

“ Plans of laws may be equally proposed in the Senate and in the Legislative Body.

“ Those relating to contributions can only be proposed in the Legislative Body.

“ The King can invite equally the two Bodies to occupy themselves upon objects which he deems proper.

“ The sanction of the King is necessary for the completion of a law.

“ 6. There are 150 Senators at least, and 200 at most.

“ Their dignity is immoveable, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. They are named by the King.

“ The present Senators, with the exception of those who shall renounce the quality of a French citizen, are maintained, and form part of this number. The actual endowment of the Senate and the Senatorships belongs
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to them. The revenues are equally between them, and pass to their successors. In case of the death of a Senator without direct male posterity, his portion returns to the public treasure. The Senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment.

“ 7. The Princes of the Royal family, and the Princes of the blood, are by right Members of the Senate.

“ The functions of a Senator cannot be exercised until the person has attained the age of 21 years.

“ 8. The Senate decides the cases in which the discussion of objects before them shall be public or secret.

“ 9. Each department shall send to the Legislative Body the same number of deputies it sent thither.

“ The Deputies who sat in the Legislative Body at the period of the last adjournment shall continue to sit till they are replaced. All preserve their pay.

“ In future they shall be chosen immediately by the Electoral Bodies, which are preserved; with the exception of the changes that may be made by a law in their organization.

“ The duration of the functions of the Deputies to the Legislative Body is fixed at five years.

“ The new election shall take place for the session of 1815.

“ 10. The Legislative Body shall assemble of right each year on the 1st of October. The King may convoke it extraordinarily; he may adjourn it; he may also dissolve it: but in the latter case another Legislative Body must be formed, in three months at the latest, by the Electoral Colleges.

“ 11. The Legislative Body has the right of discussion. The sittings are public, unless in cases where it chooses to form itself into a general committee.

“ 12. The Senate, Legislative Body, Electoral Colleges, and Assemblies of Cantons, elect their President from among themselves.

“ 13. No Member of the Senate, or Legislative Body can be arrested without the previous authority from the Body to which he belongs.

“ The trial of a Member of the Senate or Legislative Body belongs exclusively to the Senate.

“ 14. The Ministers may be Members either of the Senate or Legislative Body.

" 15. Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right: no tax can be imposed or received unless it has been freely consented to by the Legislative Body and the Senate. The land tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the Legislative Body and the Senate, at the opening of the sitting of the Legislative Body.

" 16. The law shall fix the mode and amount of the recruiting of the army.

" 17. The independence of the judicial power is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural judges.

" The institution of Juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters.

" The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished.

" The King has the right of pardoning.

" 18. The Courts and ordinary Tribunals existing at present are preserved; their number cannot be diminished or increased, but in virtue of a law. The Judges are for life and irremoveable, except the Justice of the Peace and the Judges of Commerce. The Commissions and extraordinary Tribunals are suppressed, and cannot be re-established.

" 19. The Court of Cassation, the Court of Appeal, and the Tribunals of the first instance, propose to the King, three candidates for each of three places of Judge vacant in their body. The King chooses one of the three. The King names the First Presidents and the Public Ministry of the Courts and the Tribunals.

" 20. The military on service, the officers and soldiers on half pay, the widows and pensioned officers, preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions.

" 21. The person of the King is sacred and inviolable. All the acts of the Government are signed by a Minister. The Ministers are responsible for all which those acts contain violatory of the laws, public and private liberty, and the rights of citizens.

" 22. The freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed. The ministers of worship are treated and protected alike.

" 23. The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result

result from the abuse of that liberty. The Senatorial Commissions of the liberty of the press and individual liberty are preserved.

“ 24. The public debt is guaranteed.

“ The sales of the national domains are irrevocably maintained.

“ 25. No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given.

“ 26. Every person has the right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority.

“ 27. All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments.

“ 28. All laws existing at present remain in vigour, until they are legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled *Civil Code of the French*.

“ 29. The present Constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, ‘ *I accept the Constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed.*’

“ This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.”

Louis made no hesitation in immediately acceding to the new form of government; he had too much penetration not to perceive that, in mounting the throne of his ancestors, he must govern by different maxims from those of former times, and that the principles of liberty, which in their first operation had led to such destructive results, far from being stifled by the despotism of the Imperial government, had taken deep root in France. Besides, his long residence in England must have strongly inclined him to submit to a limited authority; which, far from obscuring the splendour of the throne, he might see, conferred a lustre upon it, and added strength and dignity to the government.

When the new revolution which restored Louis to his right took place, he resided at Hartwell, from whence he immediately proceeded to London; where he was received with every demonstration of joy, and every token of respect was paid to the illustrious stranger by

all ranks of people. When he arrived at the hotel prepared for his reception, the Prince Regent, who had met and accompanied him on his journey, addressed his Majesty to the following effect:—

Prince Regent.—"Your Majesty will permit me to offer you my heartiest congratulations upon that great event, which has always been amongst the warmest of my wishes, and which must eminently contribute to the happiness not only of your Majesty's people, but to the repose and happiness of all other nations. I am sure I may add, that my own sentiments and feelings are in unison with those of the universal British nation; and that the triumph and transport with which your Majesty will be received in your own capital, can scarcely exceed the joy and satisfaction which your Majesty's restoration to the throne of your ancestors has created in the capital of the British empire."

King of France.—"Your Royal Highness will accept my most sincere and grateful thanks for your Royal Highness's congratulations, for the invariable kindness with which I have been treated by your Royal Highness and by every member of your illustrious House. It is to your Royal Highness's councils, to this great country, and to the constancy of its people, that I shall always ascribe, under Providence, the restoration of our House to the throne of our ancestors, and that state of affairs which promises to heal the wounds, to calm the passions, and to restore the peace, tranquillity, and prosperity of all nations."

Prince Regent.—"Your Majesty views my conduct with too partial an eye. I can claim no merit but the performance of a duty to which inclination and every consideration prompted me. And surely your Majesty will allow that the performance of it has been well rewarded by those events which call forth our present congratulations. May your Majesty long reign in peace, happiness, and honour!"

King of France.—"Your Royal Highness must allow me to add, that I have but feebly expressed all the grateful feelings of my heart—feelings which I shall retain to the last moment of my life—for the unabated kindness and the generous protection with which your Royal Highness and your noble nation have honoured
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me and all the members of my house, and all those loyal men attached to it, during our residence in this great and happy country.—May its greatness and happiness be eternal!”

His Majesty then, assisted by the Prince de Condé and the Duke de Bourbon, taking the ribband of the Order of *Saint Esprit* from his own shoulder, and the star from his breast, invested the Prince with it; declaring his happiness, that it should be upon his Royal Highness he should first have the honour of conferring that ancient order, upon his restoration.

During his short residence in London, Louis received the congratulations of all the principal nobility and gentry, the ministers, foreign ambassadors, &c. &c. And on Saturday the 23d of April, he left the British metropolis for his own dominions, carrying with him the hearty and unfeigned good wishes of every class of society.

On the 25th of April, a day which must be ever memorable in the annals of France, his Majesty landed at Calais, where it would be impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which he was received by its loyal inhabitants. When his Majesty landed, he was received by the Mayor and Magistrates, General Barbasen the commandant, M. Tribot the *curé* of the town, and the principal inhabitants, who attended him to an open carriage which had been prepared for his Majesty, and which was drawn to the church of Nôtre Dame by his loyal and affectionate subjects. There mass was performed in a manner truly impressive. After mass, his Majesty, having taken a slight repose, dined in public. At his table were admitted, besides the members of his own family, a considerable number of distinguished individuals, both French and English.

On his road to the French metropolis, Louis was received in all places through which he passed, by demonstrations of joy, affection, and attachment, which it would be impossible to describe. On his arrival at Compeigne, he was met by the French Marshals, when the Prince of Neufchatel, in the name of the Marshals of France, addressed him as follows:—

“SIRE—After twenty-five years of uncertainty and tumult, the French people have again entrusted the care
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of their happiness to that dynasty which eight ages of glory have consecrated in the history of the world, as the most ancient that ever existed. As warriors and citizens, the Marshals of France have been led by all the impulses of their soul to second this movement of the national wish. Absolute confidence in the future, admiration for greatness under misfortune, all, even to former recollections, concur to excite in our warriors, always the support of the splendours of the French armies, these transports which your Majesty has observed on your passage. Already, Sire, the accounts of their gratitude have preceded you. How is it possible to paint the emotion with which they were penetrated on hearing with what touching interest your Majesty, forgetting your own misfortunes, seemed only to be occupied with those of the French prisoners? 'It is of little importance,' you said to the magnanimous Alexander, 'under what banners these 150,000 prisoners have served, they are unfortunate; I see amongst them only my children.' At these memorable words, which each soldier repeated to his comrade, what Frenchman could fail to perceive the blood of the great Henry, who nourished Paris whilst he besieged it? Like him, his illustrious descendant comes to unite all Frenchmen in one family. Your armies, Sire, of which the Marshals are to-day the organ, consider themselves happy in being called by their devotion and fidelity to second such generous efforts."

The King replied in a most affecting kindness, that he saw with pleasure the Marshals of France, and that he relied on the sentiments of fidelity and attachment which they expressed in the name of the French armies. His Majesty named each of the French Marshals himself. After having spoken to them words as honourable as gracious, the King arose, though suffering under the gout, and at the moment when his Grand Officers were approaching to assist him, his Majesty, seizing the arms of the two Marshals, who were the nearest him, said with an overflowing heart—"It is on you, Marshals, I wish always to support myself; approach, and surround me. You have always been good Frenchmen. I hope France will no longer have need of your swords. If ever, which God forbid, we are forced to draw them, afflicted

afflicted as I am with the gout, I will march with you."

The Marshals replied—"Sire, Be pleased to consider us as the pillars of your Majesty's throne. It is our wish to be its firmest support."

The King's public entry into Paris, after so long an absence, could not fail of impressing on the minds of the French deep and affecting recollections. Restored to the throne of his ancestors, after a proscription of so many years, he was now to re-enter that capital from whence had sprung all the misfortunes of his family. On the day preceding his public entrance, Louis issued the following declaration:—

"Declaration of the King.

"Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all whom these presents shall concern, greeting.

Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, enlightened by the misfortunes of the nation which we are destined to govern, our first object is to invoke that reciprocal confidence which is so essential to our peace, and their happiness and prosperity.

"After having attentively perused the plan of a Constitution proposed by the Senate in the session of the 6th of April last, we allow that the bases of it are good; but observe, at the same time, that a great number of articles, bearing the impression of the precipitancy with which they have been drawn up, cannot, in their present form, become fundamental laws of the state.

"Resolved to adopt a liberal Constitution, desiring that it be judiciously combined, and not being able to accept one which will indispensably require revision; we convoke the Senate and the Legislative Body for the 10th of June, in the present year, pledging ourselves to place before their eyes the work which we shall have accomplished with a Select Committee of the members of these two bodies, and to give for the basis of that Constitution the following guarantees:—

"The Representative Government shall be maintained, such as it exists at present, divided into two Bodies, *viz.* "The Senate, and the Chamber composed of the Deputies of the Departments.

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“ The levying of taxes shall be freely agreed to.

“ Public and personal liberty secured.

“ The liberty of the press respected, save and except the precautions necessary for public tranquillity.

“ The freedom of worship guaranteed.

“ Property shall be inviolable and sacred; the sale of the national lands, &c. shall remain irrevocable.

“ The Ministers being responsible, may be proceeded against by either of the Legislative Chambers, and judged by the other.

“ The Judges shall not be removeable at pleasure, and the judicial power independent.

“ The public debt shall be secured; the pensions, ranks, military honours, shall be preserved, as well as the titles of the old and new nobility.

“ The Legion of Honour, of which we will determine the decorations, shall be maintained.

“ Every Frenchman shall be admissible to civil and military offices.

“ Finally, no man shall be molested for his opinions or his votes.

(Signed) “ LOUIS.

“ Given at St. Ouen, 2d May 1814.”

It was on the memorable 3d of May, that the King entered Paris, where every preparation had been made to give due solemnity to the scene. On the morning of that day, his Majesty left St. Ouen, accompanied by the Members of the Provisional Council of State, the Commissaries of the Ministerial Departments, the Marshals of France, the Generals and Members composing his Household. A countless multitude of all classes of the inhabitants of Paris and the surrounding departments had assembled on the road, greeting with their acclamations their restored sovereign. The procession was formed in the following order.

A detachment of the cavalry of the National Guards, and another of the cavalry of the line, came first. Two carriages for the Provisional Ministers followed.

The Archbishop of Rheims, Grand Almoner of France; the Duc de Durass, First Gentleman of the King's Chamber; the Comte de Blacas, Grand Master of the Wardrobe; and the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, were in one coach.

“ The

The King's carriage, in which were his Majesty, the Duchess of Angouleme, the Prince of Condé, and the Duc de Bourbon.

Monsieur on horseback, at the right door of the King's carriage, was accompanied by a part of the Marshals of France and Colonels-General.

The Duc de Berri was also on horseback, at the left of the carriage, accompanied in like manner by a part of the Marshals and Colonels-General.

Marshal Berthier preceded the royal carriage, and Marshal Moncey, as First Inspector-General of the Gendarmerie, was behind it. A long file of carriages followed, in which were the Ladies of Madame la Duchesse, the Officers of the Household of the King and Princes. Detachments of the National Guards and Gendarmerie closed the procession.

The Prefect of the Seine at the head of the Municipal Body, and the Prefect of the Police, were stationed at the barrier; and the keys were carried by the Senior Mayor of Paris. Baron de Chabrol, Prefect of the Seine, addressed his Majesty in a speech, and presented to him the keys of the city. His Majesty was pleased to reply in the most gracious manner—

“ I am at last in my good city of Paris. I experience a lively emotion from the proofs of affection which are at this moment given me. Nothing could be more agreeable to my heart than to see erected the statue of him, the recollection of whom, among all my noble ancestors, is the most dear to me.

“ I touch the keys, and restore them to you; they could not be in better hands, nor entrusted to magistrates more worthy of guarding them.”

The procession then proceeded to the Cathedral, on entering which the King was received with the usual ceremonies. The *Domine salvum fac Regem* was performed and supported by the vast crowd of spectators who filled every part of the Church. *Te Deum* was afterwards chaunted, that of Neuckomm was chosen for this occasion, and it was executed by a numerous band of musicians. After this religious ceremony, the procession continued in the regular order to the Palace of the Thuilleries.

It is impossible to describe the effect of this entrance

of the King into his capital. The immense multitude of spectators of all ranks, magistrates and citizens, and general officers, and soldiers of the allies, shewed by their conduct that they were all animated by one sentiment, one wish, one hope—the happiness of the King and the people of France. The acclamation of *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Bourbons!* was unanimously and unceasingly repeated.

The situation of Louis, upon his accession to the throne, was one of considerable difficulty. His capital, he found, occupied by hostile forces, arousing the jealousy, and mortifying the pride, of his people and his army. Besides the vexations which this state of things was calculated to produce, their continuance in France could not fail of damping, in a considerable degree, that warm attachment to his person which every where prevailed. The first cares of Louis and his ministers were, therefore, directed to this subject; and treaties of peace between the allied powers and France were speedily concluded: in consequence of which, the foreign troops were soon withdrawn out of the kingdom.

The Legislative Assembly of France being summoned, met on the 4th of June for the first time, when the King went in grand state to open their sessions. At the entrance of his Majesty, the whole Assembly arose, amidst the loudest acclamations, a thousand times repeated, of *Long live the King! Long live the Bourbons!* and with an energy and enthusiasm which it would be impossible to express or describe. The Assembly being standing and uncovered, his Majesty sat down, and made a sign to the members to resume their seats. A profound silence prevailing, the King stood up, and addressed the Assembly as follows:—

“GENTLEMEN—Entering for the first time this chamber, and surrounded by the great bodies of the state, the representatives of a nation that does not cease to lavish upon me the most touching marks of its affection, I felicitate myself in being the dispenser of those benefits which Divine Providence deigns to confer upon my people.

“I have made with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, a peace, in which their allies, namely, all the princes of Christendom, are included. The war was universal; the reconciliation is equally so.

“The

“ The rank which France always held amongst nations, has not been transferred to any other; and she retains it without any diminution. Whatever security the other states require, equally increases her own; and consequently adds to her true power. What she does not retain of her conquests ought not, therefore, to be regarded as a retrenchment of her real force.

“ The glory of the French armies has received no stain; the monuments of their valour subsist, and the masterpieces of the arts belong to us for the future, by rights more stable and more sacred than those of victory.

“ The avenues of commerce, so long closed, are going to be free. The markets of France will not hereafter alone be open to the productions of her soil and of her industry. Those which custom has rendered objects of necessity, or which are useful to the arts which she exercises, will be furnished by the possessions she recovers. She will be no more compelled to deprive herself of them, or to procure them on the most ruinous terms. Our manufactures will again flourish; our maritime cities will revive; and every thing portends that a long state of tranquillity abroad, and durability of happiness at home, will be the happy consequences of peace.

“ Painful recollections intervene in the mean time to disturb my joy. I flattered myself I was born to remain my whole life the most faithful subject of the best of Kings; and I occupy to-day his place. But, however, he is not entirely dead; he revives in this testament, which he destined for the instruction of the august and unfortunate child whom I have succeeded! With my eyes fixed upon this immortal work, penetrated with the sentiments which dictated it; guided by the experience, and assisted by the councils of several amongst you, I have drawn up the Constitutional Charter, which shall be immediately read to you, and which fixes upon a solid basis the prosperity of the state.

“ My Chancellor will communicate to you, more in detail, my paternal intentions.”

It would be as difficult to express the profound emotions and the sentiments of tenderness and gratitude with which the discourse of his Majesty was heard, as to give a just idea of the noble and affecting expression, the paternal accent, the persuasive tone, and the communicative

sensibility with which the discourse was pronounced. Reiterated acclamations of the Assembly, and new cries of *Long live the King!* resounded from all sides.

The King ordered the Chancellor of France to make communication of the Constitutional Charter: upon which the Sessions assumed another character; the Nation was going to hear its rights and its duties. The deepest silence once more prevailed.

The Chancellor then spoke as follows:—

“ GENTLEMEN SENATORS, GENTLEMEN DEPUTIES FROM THE DEPARTMENTS—You have heard the affecting words and the paternal intention of his Majesty: it remains for his Ministers to make known the important communications which flow out of them.

“ How magnificent and affecting is the spectacle of a King, who, in order to secure our respect, has need only for his virtues; who displays the imposing apparatus of royalty to bring to his people, exhausted by 25 years’ misfortunes, the blessing so long desired of an honourable peace, and the not less precious benefit of an ordonnance of reformation, by which he extinguishes all parties and maintains the rights of all.

“ Many years have elapsed since Divine Providence called our Sovereign to the throne of his fathers.—At the epoch of his accession, France, bewildered by false theories, divided by the spirit of intrigue, blinded by vain appearances of liberty, had become the prey of all factions, the theatre of every excess, and was given up to the most horrible convulsions of anarchy. She successively tried all kinds of government, until the weight of the evils which overwhelmed her brought her back to that paternal government which, during fourteen centuries, had been her glory and her happiness.

“ The breath of the Almighty hath overthrown that formidable colossus of strength, under which all Europe groaned; but under the ruins of a gigantic edifice, still more promptly destroyed than raised, France has at last recovered the unshakeable foundation of her ancient Monarchy.

“ It is upon this sacred base that we must now raise a durable edifice, which time and the hand of man shall not be able to destroy.

“ It is the King who becomes more than ever the foundation

dation stone ; it is around him that all Frenchmen ought to rally. And what King ever better deserved their obedience and fidelity? Recalled to his states by the unanimous wish of his people, he has conquered them without an army, subjected them by love, and united all minds, by gaining all hearts.

“ In full possession of his hereditary rights over this fine kingdom, he does not wish to exercise the authority which he holds from God and from his fathers, but by imposing limits himself upon his own power.

“ Far from his thoughts, was the idea that the sovereignty ought to be stripped of the salutary counter-checks, which, under various denominations, have constantly existed in our constitution. He substitutes himself an establishment of power so combined, that it offers as many guarantees for the nation as it does safeguards for royalty. He wishes only to be the supreme head of the great family, of which he is the father. It is himself who gives to the French a Constitutional Charter, appropriated to their desires as to their wants, and to the respective situation of men and things.

“ The enthusiasm with which the King has been received in his states, the spontaneous devotion of all the civil and military authorities, have convinced his Majesty of the truth so gratifying to his heart, that France was monarchical from sentiment, and regarded the honour of the crown as a tutelary power necessary to its happiness.

“ His Majesty has no fear, therefore, that there will be any kind of discord between him and his people : inseparably united by the ties of tender love, a mutual confidence will cement all their reciprocal engagements.

“ France must have a royal protecting power, without the means of becoming oppressive ; the King must have loving and faithful subjects, always free and equal before the law. Authority ought to have sufficient force to check all parties, to compress all factions, and to keep down all the enemies which may threaten the public welfare and repose.

“ The nation may, at the same time, desire a guarantee against every kind of abuse and excess of power. The present situation of the kingdom, after so many years of storms, requires some precaution, perhaps even some sacrifices

sacrifices, in order to appease all jarrings, prevent all recurrences to old grievances, consolidate all fortunes, and to bring, in a word, all the French to a general oblivion of the past, and a general reconciliation.

“ Such, Gentlemen, is the truly paternal spirit in which this great Charter has been drawn up, and which the King has directed me to lay before the eyes of the old Senate and the last Legislative Body. If the former of these bodies has, as it were, ceased to exist with the power that created it; if the latter can only have, without the authority of the King, powers uncertain and already expired with respect to several of its series, the members are not less the legitimate election of the Notables of the Kingdom.

“ Thus the King has consulted them, by choosing from among them such members as had been more than once signalized by the public esteem. He has, as it were, increased his council; and he owes to their sage observations several useful additions, several important restrictions.

“ It is the unanimous labour of the Commission, of which they form a part, which is to be laid before you, to be afterwards carried to the two Chambers created by the Constitution, and sent to all the Tribunals, as well as to all the Municipalities.

“ I do not doubt, Gentlemen, that it will excite among you an enthusiasm of gratitude, which, from the heart of the capital, will speedily be propagated to the extremities of the kingdom.”

The Constitutional Charter, which consisted of seventy-six articles, was accompanied by the following declaration of the King:—

“ Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c. to all those who shall see these presents, health.

“ Divine Providence, in recalling us to our states after a long absence, has imposed great duties upon us. Peace being the first want of our subjects, we occupied ourselves incessantly about it; and that peace, so necessary for France as well as for the rest of Europe, is signed. A Constitutional Charter was required by the present state of the kingdom: we promised it, and we now publish it.

“ We

“ We have considered, that, although in France the authority rests altogether on the person of the King, our predecessors had not hesitated to modify the exercise of it according to the circumstances of the times; that thus the Commons owed their enfranchisement to Louis the Fat, the confirmation and extension of their rights to St. Louis and Philip the Handsome; that the judicial order was established and developed by the laws of Louis XI. Henry II. and Charles IX.; and, finally, that Louis XIV. regulated all parts of the public administration by different ordinances, the wisdom of which nothing since has surpassed. We have held it our duty, according to the example of the kings, our ancestors, to appreciate the progress of lights always increasing, and the new relations which this progress has introduced into society; the direction which the minds of men have taken for half a century, and the important alterations which have resulted. We have ascertained that the desire of our subjects for a Constitutional Charter was the expression of a real want; but, in yielding to this wish, we have taken all precautions to insure that this Charter shall be worthy of us and of the people which we are proud to command. Men of wisdom, selected from the chief bodies of the state, have been associated with commissioners from our council in framing this important work. At the same time that we felt the necessity for a free monarchical constitution, to fulfil the expectation of enlightened Europe, we have also held ourselves bound to recollect, that our first duty towards our people was, to preserve, for their own interests, the rights and prerogatives of the crown. We trust that, instructed by experience, they are convinced that the supreme authority alone can give to the institutions which it establishes, the force, the permanency, and the majesty with which it is itself clothed; that thus, when the wisdom of kings accords freely with the wishes of the people, a Constitutional Charter may be of long duration; but when violence wrests concessions from the weakness of the government, public liberty is no less endangered than the throne itself. We have finally searched for the principles of a Constitutional Charter in the French character, and in the venerable monuments of past ages. Thus we have seen, in the re-establishment of the peer-

age

age, an institution truly national, which ought to bind every recollection to every hope, by re-uniting the ancient with the modern times. We have replaced by the Chamber of Deputies, those ancient assemblies of the fields of March and of May, and the Chambers of the Third Estate, which have so often given at once proofs of their zeal for the interests of the people, and of fidelity and respect for the authority of the kings. In studying thus to join anew the chain of the times which lamentable breaches had interrupted, we have effaced from our recollection, as we wish it was possible to efface from history, all the evils which have afflicted the country during our absence. Happy to find ourselves once more in the bosom of the great family, we know not how to reply to the love of which we have received so many testimonies, except by pronouncing words of peace and consolation. The wish most dear to our heart is, that all Frenchmen should live as brothers, and that no bitter recollection may ever disturb the security to be expected from the solemn deed which we execute this day. Sure of our intentions, strong in our conscience, we pledge ourselves before the Assembly that hears us, to be faithful to this Constitutional Charter, reserving to ourselves to swear to maintain it, with a new solemnity; before the altars of Him who weighs in the same balance kings and nations. For these reasons, we have voluntarily, and by the free exercise of our royal authority granted, and do grant, transfer, and make over to our subjects, for ourselves, and for our successors, and for ever, the Constitutional Charter."

The Constitutional Charter which the King thus solemnly guaranteed, was not an hasty production; it was intended to fix upon a firm basis the liberties of France, and to define with accuracy, the prerogatives of the crown, as well as the privileges of the people. As the Constitution of a neighbouring country like France, must at all times excite the attention of Englishmen; and as its government, founded upon the basis of the Constitutional Charter, will probably endure for ages, and give a tone, a character to the nation, we deem it essential in the Memoirs of Louis XVIII. to present our readers with the articles forming this great compact. They are as follow:—

" Public Rights of Frenchmen.

" Art. 1. The French, whatever may be their titles or rank, are equal in the eye of the law.

" 2. They are to contribute, without distinction, and in the ratio of their property, to the expences of the state.

" 3. They are all equally admissible to civil and military employments.

" 4. Their individual liberty is equally guaranteed; none can be prosecuted or arrested, but in cases provided for by the law, and in the prescribed forms.

" 5. Every one professes his religion with equal liberty, and obtains the same protection for his worship.

" 6. However, the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion, is the religion of the state.

" 7. The Ministers of the Catholic religion, and those of other Christian worships alone, receive salaries from the state.

" 8. The French have a right to publish and print their opinions, in conforming to the laws which are to repress the abuse of that liberty.

" 9. All property is inviolable, without excepting such as are called national, the laws making no distinction between them.

" 10. The state can require the sacrifice of a property in favour of the public interest legally ascertained, but the proprietor must be previously indemnified.

" 11. All prosecutions for opinions or votes given before the restoration, are prohibited. The same oblivion is binding on the courts of justice, and on citizens.

" 12. The conscription is abolished. The mode of recruiting the army and navy is determined by law.

" Forms of the King's Government.

" 13. The person of the King is sacred and inviolable. His Ministers are responsible. To the King alone appertains the executive power.

" 14. The King is supreme head of the state; commands the forces by land and sea; declares war; makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; appoints to all offices of public administration; and makes the necessary regulations and ordinances for the execution of the laws, and the security of the state.

“ 15. The legislative power is collectively exercised by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of the Deputies of the Departments.

“ 16. The King proposes the law.

“ 17. The proposition of the law is carried, at the desire of the King, to the Chamber of Peers, or to that of the Deputies, except the law of taxation, which must be addressed first to the Chamber of Deputies.

“ 18. Every law must be freely discussed, and voted by the majority of each of the two Chambers.

“ 19. The Chambers have the right of supplicating the King to propose a law upon any object whatsoever, and to point out what appears to them fit that the law should contain.

“ 20. This demand may be made by each of the two Chambers, but after having been discussed in secret committee.

“ It shall not be sent to the other Chamber by that which has proposed it, but after a period of ten days.

“ 21. If the proposition is adopted by the other Chamber, it will be placed under the eyes of the King; if it be rejected, it cannot be resumed during that session.

“ 22. The King alone sanctions and promulgates the laws.

“ 23. The Civil List is fixed for the entire reign, by the first Legislature that assembles after the accession of the King.

“ Of the Chamber of Peers.

“ 24. The Chamber of Peers is an essential portion of the legislative power.

“ 25. If convoked by the King at the same time as the Chamber of the Deputies of Departments, the sessions of both commence and finish at the same time.

“ 26. Every meeting of the Chamber of Peers, which may be held at a time there is no session of the Chamber of Deputies, is illicit and legally null.

“ 27. The nomination of the Peers of France belongs to the King. Their number is not limited; he may vary the dignities, appoint them for life, or render them hereditary, according to his will.

“ 28. The Peers have entrance into the Chamber at the

the age of 25, and a deliberative voice at the age of 30 only.

“ 29. The Chamber of Peers is presided by the Chancellor of France; and, in his absence, by a Peer nominated by the King.

“ 30. The members of the Royal Family and the Princes of the Blood are Peers by the right of their birth; they sit immediately after the President, but they have not a deliberate voice till the age of 25.

“ 31. The Princes cannot sit in the Chamber, but by the order of the King, expressed, for each session, by message, under the pain of annulling every thing which may be done in their presence.

“ 32. All the deliberations of the Chamber of Peers are secret.

“ 33. The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of crimes of high treason, and attempts against the security of the state, which shall be defined by law.

“ 34. No Peer can be arrested but by the authority of the Chamber, or judged but by it in criminal cases.

“ Of the Chamber of the Deputies of the Departments.

“ 35. The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of Deputies chosen by the Electoral Colleges, whose organization shall be determined by particular laws.

“ 36. Every department shall have the same number of Deputies it has had hitherto.

“ 37. The Deputies are to be elected for five years, and in such a manner that the Chamber may be renewed one-fifth every year.

“ 38. No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber, unless he has attained the age of 40 years, and pays a direct contribution of 1000 francs.

“ 39. Should there, however, not be 50 persons in the Department, of the age indicated, paying at least 1000 francs of direct taxes, their number will be completed by those who are taxed most under 1000 francs; but these cannot be elected in concurrence with the former.

“ 40. The Electors who concur in the nomination of Deputies, cannot have right of vote, unless they pay direct taxes to the amount of 300 francs, or if they be under the age of 30.

“ 41. The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges will be nominated by the King, and be by right Members of the College.

“ 42. Half, at least, of the Deputies must be chosen from the persons eligible who have their political residence in the department.

“ 43. The President of the Chamber of Deputies is nominated by the King from a list of five Members presented by the Chamber.

“ 44. The sittings of the Chamber are public; but the demand of five Members suffices to form it into a Secret Committee.

“ 45. The Chamber divides into committees, in order to discuss the projects presented on the part of the King.

“ 46. No amendment can be made in a law, unless it has been proposed in a committee by the King, and unless it has been sent to, and discussed in, the committees.

“ 47. The Chamber of Deputies receives all propositions respecting taxes; until they are admitted, they cannot be sent to the Chamber of Peers.

“ 48. No tax can be established or raised, till it has received the consent of both Houses, and the sanction of the King.

“ 49. The land-tax cannot pass for more than one year. Indirect taxes may be passed for several years.

“ 50. The King convokes annually the two Chambers; he prorogues them, and can dissolve that of the Deputies of the Departments; but in that case he must convoke another within the space of three months.

“ 51. No bodily constraint can be exercised against a Member of the Chamber during the sessions, and during the six weeks which precede and follow.

“ 52. No Member of the Chamber, during the duration of the session, can be prosecuted or arrested for criminal cases, unless taken in the very fact, until the Chamber has consented to his prosecution.

“ 53. Every petition to both Chambers must be sent in writing. The law prohibits bringing it in person to the bar.

“ *Of the Ministers.*

“ 54. The Ministers may be Members of the Chamber

ber of Peers, or of the Chamber of Deputies. They have beside an entrance to both Chambers, and must be heard when they require it.

“ 55. The Chamber of Deputies has a right to impeach Ministers, and to deliver them up to the Chamber of Peers, which has alone the right of judging them.

“ 56. They can only be accused of treason and extortion. Special laws shall particularize the description of crimes, and fix the mode of prosecution.”

Articles 57 to 68 relate to the judicial power. The Judges are appointed by the King, and are irremovable. The present Courts and Tribunals are preserved. The Judges of Peace are equally preserved; but they are removable, though nominated by the King. None can be deprived of his natural judge. No extraordinary tribunals or commissions can be created. The trials are to be public, except in such cases as may offend public morals and decency, and then the Court declares it by judgment. The institution of Juries is preserved; such changes as experience may recommend as necessary, can only be effected by law. The pain of confiscation of property is abolished for ever. The King has the right of pardon and commutation of punishment.

Articles 69 to 74 inclusive, refer to particular rights guaranteed by the state. The military in active service, officers and soldiers on half pay, widows, officers and soldiers who have pensions, retain their ranks, honours, and pensions. The public debt is guaranteed. The ancient Nobility resume their titles, the new preserve their's. The King gives titles of Nobility, but they confer no exemption from the duties and burdens of the state. The Legion of Honour is maintained; the King to determine the regulations and decoration. The Colonies are to be governed by particular laws and regulations. The King and his successors, at their coronation, swear to observe faithfully the present Constitutional Charter.

Articles 75 and 76 under the head of “ *Transitory Articles*,” determine, that the Deputies of the Departments who had a seat in the Legislative Body, at the last adjournment, are to continue their functions till replaced. The first renewal of a fifth of the Chamber is to take place

place in the year 1816, according to the prescribed form.

It is here that we intend to close our *Memoirs of Louis XVIII.* In contemplating his life, the mind is forcibly struck with that vicissitude of fortune which has attended him, and which has so happily closed in his restoration to the throne of France. Brought up in a court distinguished for its refinement and voluptuousness, Louis, it may be imagined, was but ill prepared to meet the misfortunes which he had to encounter, and to brave the perils which overwhelmed his family. Yet do we find that, in all the adversities which attended him, he was never forsaken by that fortitude of mind by which he is so much distinguished; nor did he ever forget, in all his calamities, what was due to him as a monarch. His faithful followers and adherents were a constant source of uneasiness to him; and he felt more for their situation than for his own. When his restoration to the throne of his ancestors took place, Louis must have suffered considerable anguish in beholding many of his most loyal adherents deprived of their ancient patrimony, without a hope of ever recovering it. His situation in this respect is an unavoidable consequence of his long proscription, and the deep root which the new institutions had taken in France. The revolution had most completely swept away every trace of the monarchical government; and such was the zeal of the republicans in obliterating every recollection of monarchy, that nothing which had the least appearance of antiquity, either in church or state, was suffered to exist. No wonder, therefore, that the fortunes and estates of the royalists who had emigrated with their sovereign should fall an early sacrifice to the wants and avarice of the republicans; and time, which often sanctions the most flagrant injustice, and which even confirms usurpation, has made it impossible, without violating the most solemn compact, of restoring to their rights a most loyal and persecuted set of men. From necessity, Louis was obliged to employ in all the chief offices of his government the very men who had been his most bitter enemies, and who had most zealously supported the former government. These men, from their long habits of business, and from the influence they had acquired in
France,

France, were the only persons who could give effect to his restored authority. Besides which, it was to them he owed, in a great measure, his restoration to his throne, and to them he must still be considerably indebted for a firm establishment of it. He had therefore no opportunity of rewarding the fidelity of his faithful adherents, or of recompensing them in any manner adequate to their claims, or to the losses which they had suffered in his cause and that of his family.

The situation of France on the restoration of Louis was such, that it will require all the industry and attention of the King and his ministers to heal the deep wounds which the ambition and policy of Napoleon had inflicted on her. Posterity can have no idea of the state of France at the restoration of Louis; nor can the present age form a proper conception of that mass of human misery which pervaded every part of the French empire. The first *Exposé* of the state of France which Louis exhibited to his people, presents a most melancholy picture of the country; and though the statements it contains are no doubt overcharged, yet is there sufficient to believe that the ambitious Napoleon was too regardless of her blood and treasure, and that he was ready to make every sacrifice in order to obtain his unjust and unprincipled views. With this *Exposé*, so important to a just view of the situation of France upon the accession of Louis, we shall close our present Memoir. It appears to have been ably drawn up, and was presented to the Chamber of Deputies soon after the King's restoration, by M. l'Abbé de Montesquiou, who addressed them to the following effect:—

“GENTLEMEN—His Majesty, on resuming the reigns of government, was desirous to make known to his people the state in which he found France. The cause of misfortunes which weighed down our country has disappeared, but its effects still remain; and for a long time, under a government which will devote itself solely to the reparation, France will suffer under the wounds inflicted by a government which gave itself up to the business of destruction. It is necessary, therefore, that the nation should be informed of the extent and the cause of its misfortunes, in order to be able to set a due value upon, and to second, the cares which are to soothe and

and retrieve them. Thus enlightened upon the extent and nature of the mischief, it will in future be required only to participate in the labours and exertions of the King, to re-establish what has been destroyed, not by him, to heal wounds not inflicted by him, and to repair wrongs to which he is a stranger. War, without doubt, has been the principal cause of the ills of France. History presented hitherto no example of a great nation incessantly precipitated against its will into enterprises constantly increasing in hazard and distress. The world has now seen, with astonishment mingled with terror, a civilized people compelled to exchange its happiness and repose for the wandering life of barbarous hordes; the ties of families have been broken; fathers have grown old far from their children; and children have been hurried off to die 400 leagues from their fathers. No hope of return soothed this frightful separation; habit had caused it to be regarded as eternal; and the peasants of Brittany, after conducting their sons to the place of separation, have been seen to return to their churches to put up for them by anticipation the prayers for the dead!

“ It is impossible to estimate the horrible consumption of men by the late government; fatigue and sickness carried off as many as battles. The enterprises were so vast and so rapid, that every thing was sacrificed to the desire of insuring success; there was no regularity in the service of the hospitals—none in providing subsistence on the marches; the brave soldiers, whose valour constituted the glory of France, and who gave incessantly new proofs of their energy and patience, sustaining the national honour with so much brilliancy, saw themselves deserted amidst their sufferings, and abandoned, without resource, to calamities which they were unable to support. The goodness of the French was insufficient to supply this cruel negligence; and levies of men, which, under other circumstances, would have formed great armies, disappeared in this manner, without taking part in any engagement. Hence arose the necessity of multiplying levies without number, to replace incessantly, by new armies, the almost total annihilation of the armies preceding. The amount of the calls ordered since the end of the Russian campaign is frightful—

“ 11th

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| " 11th January 1813 | 350,000 |
| " 3d April—Guards of Honour | 10,000 |
| First draught of National Guards | 80,000 |
| Guards for the coasts | 90,000 |
| " 24th August—Army of Spain | 30,000 |
| " 9th October—Conscription of 1814 and preceding years | 120,000 |
| " Conscription of 1815 | 160,000 |
| " 15th Nov.—Recall of years 1811 to 1814 | 300,000 |
| " Jan. 1813—Officers of cavalry equipped | 17,000 |
| " 1814—Levies en masse organized | 143,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,300,000 |

" Fortunately these last levies could not be fully executed. The war had not time to cut off all those who had joined the standards. But this simple statement of the requisitions enforced on the population during an interval of from fourteen to fifteen months, suffices to give an idea of what the losses of the nation must have been during the last twenty-two years. Many causes contributed, however, to repair these losses; the improvement of the condition of the inhabitants of the country by the division of the great landed properties, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the progress of vaccination, were the most powerful. It was by means of the influence of these causes, and by exaggerating their success, that efforts were made to hide from the nation the extent of its sacrifices. The greater the number of men that were snatched away from France, the more studiously was it endeavoured to prove that she courted this frightful destruction. But even if the accounts placed under view had been correct, the only result would have been, that the number of births should cause the number of deaths to be regarded with indifference! But another argument was, to point out in the conscription itself a source of increasing population, which introduced disorder and immorality into marriages concluded with precipitation and imprudence. Hence a multitude of unfortunate families of ridiculous or indecent connexions, so that even many men of the lower orders soon became weary of what they had embraced only to shelter themselves from the conscription, threw themselves once more in the way of the dangers they had sought to avoid,

and offered themselves as substitutes, to escape a misery which they had not foreseen, or to break ties so ill-assorted.

“ How could they, besides, overlook the reflection, that, although by multiplying these deplorable marriages, the conscription should have increased the number of births, it took annually away from France a great number of those full-grown men, who constitute the real strength of a nation. The facts prove clearly the truth of so natural a consequence. The population under the age of twenty years increased, but fell off above that age. Thus, while the government attacked the sources of the national prosperity, it displayed incessantly in pompous array those remnants of resources that maintained a struggle against its wasteful measures; it studied to conceal the evil which it did, under the good, not of its production, which was yet undestroyed. Master of a country where long labours had amassed great treasures, where civilization had made the happiest progress, where industry and commerce had, for the sixty previous years, made a wonderful progress, it seized all the fruits of the industry of so many generations, and of the experience of so many ages, at one time to promote its lamentable designs, and at another to cover the sad effects of its influence. The simple account of the present state of the realm will immediately exhibit the inherent prosperity of the nation struggling against a destroying principle, incessantly attacked, often struck with terrible wounds, and perpetually drawing from itself resources always insufficient.

“ *Ministry of the Interior.*

“ Agriculture in France has made a real progress. This progress began before the revolution; but since that period its march has been accelerated by causes which would have produced the most important effects, if that influence had not been destroyed or diminished by government. The propagation of good modes of cultivation by learned societies—the residence of a number of rich proprietors in the country, and their experiments, instruction and example—lastly, the creation of Veterinary Schools, which have taught the mode of preserving domestic animals from contagious diseases,
have

have all been productive of the most fortunate results in rural economy. The continental system, occasioned enormous losses to the proprietors of vineyards. In the south of France many vineyards were rooted up; and this species of cultivation has been generally discouraged by the low price of wines and brandy. The experimental farm of Rambouillet began, in 1785, the introduction of Merinos into France; similar undertakings were commenced by a great number of proprietors; in 1799, the farm of Perpignon was established, which was followed, several years afterwards, by seven similar establishments. The number of Merinos continued to increase, and the breed was increasing every day; but the head of the government, who wished to subject the march of nature to his restless ambition, persuaded himself that this amelioration was neither sufficiently extensive, nor sufficiently rapid; and, by a decree of the 8th of March 1811, he ordered the creation of five hundred depôts of two hundred Merino tups each, and subjected the proprietors of particular flocks to an insupportable inspection. Discouraged by so many injunctions and prohibitions, the proprietors gave up their flocks; and the breed, instead of a more rapid amelioration, soon degenerated. The expence of war prevented the government from appropriating sufficient sums for its own flocks; and this imprudent measure cost France more than twenty millions. The establishment of studs has been attended with more success. Formed by the old government, they were destroyed by the Revolution, and were not completely re-established till 1806, when there were organized six studs (*haras*), thirty depôts of stallions, and experimental studs. Towards the end of 1813 these establishments contained 1364 stallions; but in the course of that year 80,000 horses were required without discrimination, and the loss in horses from the 1st of January 1812 has been estimated at 250,000. The refitting cost the government in general from 400 to 450 francs per horse, which makes the loss in money nearly 105,200,000 francs. The mines have received a great augmentation. Our territory now contains 478 mines of all sorts, which employ 17,000 workmen, and yield a gross produce of 26,800,000 francs, and a revenue of 251,000 francs. This revenue was set apart for the

administration of the mines, but it has been applied by the late government towards the war, to the great detriment of the mining bodies, who remained without salaries. Amidst these continual vexations, this changing and tyrannical legislation, this general poverty, our fields have been cultivated, our mines wrought, and our flocks partly preserved and ameliorated. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the industry of our nation and its qualifications for the first of all arts, than the progress of its agriculture under an oppressive government. Posterity will not believe, that we have seen one man create himself into an absolute master of our properties and subsistence, condemn us to carry them to places from which he chose to seize on them; that a whole population left their homes with their oxen, their horses, and their grain, to yield up their fortunes and their resources to this new master, fortunate when his agents did not add an infamous traffic to our other wretchedness. But let us throw a veil over these indignities, and forget the excess of the tyranny in an admiration of the gifts of the Author of Nature. What other country could have resisted so many calamities? But such is the superiority of our soil, and the industry of our cultivators, that agriculture will rise with splendour from its ruins, and will appear more brilliant than ever, under the paternal government which has come to put an end to our misery.

“The manufacturing interest is in want of the same industry; the improvements in mechanics and chemistry, applied to the arts, were productive of a rapid progress. The continental system, by forcing the manufacturers to derive from our own territory resources hitherto unknown, has been productive of some useful results; but the obstacles which it has opposed to the importation of a great number of raw materials, and the want of competition, the consequence of it, have raised the price of most articles of French manufacture to an excessive height, and given a grievous blow to the rights and interests of consumers. Several of these obstacles have already ceased; reasonable laws respecting importation and exportation will hereafter conciliate the interests of consumers and manufacturers, which can never properly be opposed to each other. According to the accounts
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of the manufacturers, the cotton manufacture at present maintains 400,000 hands and a capital of an hundred millions. The manufactories of Rouen have already resumed a great activity. The manufactures of Laval and Brittany have suffered greatly from the war with Spain, where they found their principal market. Those of silk experienced the same fate. Their produce also passed through Spain to America, and the colonies; but that channel was soon closed; Italy alone remained for them. But what may we not hope to gain in this branch, by the renewal of our communications with all Europe? In 1787, the manufactures at Lyons kept at work 15,000 looms; during the late war, that number was reduced to 8000; but Lyons has already received considerable orders, and promises to regain its former prosperity. The manufactures of woollens, leather, &c. suffered in an equal degree from the fatal influence of the continental system, the absurdity of which they strikingly evinced. If, in place of consuming themselves in continual efforts to diminish the effects of bad laws, our manufacturing industry had been at full liberty, what might not have been expected from it?

“ Commerce.

“ The prohibitory laws have done still more mischief to commerce than to industry. If the difficulty of foreign communication narrowed the market of our manufactures, at least in that which remained open their goods had no foreign competition to fear; and if this want of competition was hurtful to the interest of consumers, a certain class of citizens was, however, benefited by it. But commerce requires a wider and freer field. Reduced to limited and disadvantageous speculations, whenever it endeavoured to extend them, it was subjected to the uncertain measures of a government which wished to submit every thing to its caprices and its calculations. The licensing system has ruined or discouraged a great number of merchants, by abusing them with hopes which were destroyed in an instant by the will which gave rise to them. Speculations necessarily hazardous require the assistance of fixed and certain laws; and this rude and continual transition from the licensing system to the prohibitory system, has caused an immense loss to commerce.

commerce. Besides, what tranquillity could merchants have, who see in the government a rival equally covetous and powerful, always attentive to reserve to itself the monopoly of the domain prohibited to them? A long peace and a stable reign will give commercial men sufficient confidence to carry on their useful occupations. If we pass from thence to objects depending immediately on the government, their situation will appear still more frightful.

“ General Administration of the Interior.

“ The budget of the Minister of the Interior, that is to say, the re-union of all the funds applicable to the different services of that minister, amounted

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| “ In 1811 to | 143 millions |
| 1812 | 150 millions |
| 1813 | 140 millions. |

“ The public treasury never contributed to this mass of revenue more than 58, 59, or 60 millions; the surplus arose from special duties and levies, established to meet this or that expenditure successively rejected from the state budget, or which were rendered necessary by new wants which had not been foreseen in this budget.

“ During the consular government, nearly all the government expences were included in the general results of the budgets submitted to the Legislative Body; but, from the various wars afterwards undertaken, it became so difficult to meet these expences, notwithstanding the enormous augmentation of contributions, that ministers had no other resource but a recurrence to special levies, to cover those expences for which the credit assigned on the general revenue of the state was insufficient. Hence several departments have been obliged to pay, on an average, 45, 62, and even as high as 72 centimes per franc additional duty. A table of the annual produce of these extraordinary contributions, including what has only been regularly consented to by the government, will shew their extent.

“ Administration of the Communes, or Corporations, and Hospitals.

“ The desire of knowing and watching over all the revenues of France, for the purpose of one day seizing on them,

them, were the principal cause of the mode adopted in the administrations of corporation property. By an *arret* of the year 10, all communes were divided into two classes; the first included all the revenues above 20,000 francs, and the second those below that sum: and budgets, in which all the revenue and expenditure were arranged beforehand, were laid, by the first class before the ministry of the interior, and by the second class before the prefects. A new decree subjected all the budgets of the first class to the regulation of government; hence the most fatal delays in the municipal administrations; new charges incessantly imposed on the communes also added to the embarrassment. Hence this mode of administration, which, if confined within just limits, would have had the advantage of introducing more regularity and exactness into the municipal administration, has introduced into it interminable delays. Besides, the budgets of the communes, which ought only to have been charged with municipal expences, have been successively charged with expences belonging to the state or the departments, such as the salaries of commissaries of police, military buildings and beds, dépôts of mendicity, prisons, &c. Hence an augmentation of the tariffs of *octroi*, which has rendered their collection vexatious; at an average they amount to 7 francs 24 centimes for every inhabitant, in some towns they even amount to 17 francs. Lastly, the decree of the 30th March 1813 ordered the sale of all the property let in lease by the communes. It is of great importance to liquidate the annual revenue which ought to be paid to them from this sale.

“ The administration of hospitals is in a situation still more disorderly. This administration in 1789 received ameliorations of the greatest importance; but in 1811 the state of the finances prevented the government from assigning the sums to this service which were consecrated to it. The decree of the 19th of January 1811 granted it only four millions for the expence of foundlings throughout the whole kingdom, while the annual expence is nine millions. The hospitals of Paris in the beginning of 1813 had a deficit of about 210,000 francs; and this deficit has since prodigiously increased by the placing of military patients in the civil hospitals, and the non-payment for these patients. The ministry of war owes the hospitals

hospitals of Paris on this account alone a sum of 1,395,365 francs. The magazines, medical chests, &c. are exhausted; the funds of reserve of the establishments of furniture, linen, &c. are worn out or lost; the value of these losses has never yet been calculated, but it amounts to several millions.

“ *Public Works.*

“ After this view of the general administration, the public works should occupy our attention. Great enterprises had been formed; some through ideas of true utility, others through motives of ostentation, and from views not connected with the happiness of France. While magnificent roads were opened on the frontiers, those of the interior were neglected; and the cross-roads especially, being abandoned to the *communes*, who were not rich enough to keep them up, have grown much worse. The special sums voted by the departments for the works of the roads have been diverted from their purpose; for example, 15,500,000 francs deposited for this purpose in the *Caisse d'Amortissement*. There is an arrear of more than 28,000,000 in the department of bridges and roads; and it will be charged, besides, with the repairing the devastations of the late war. Thirty principal bridges have been broken down or burnt; a temporary repair of them in wood only will cost 1,800,000 francs. There is no knowing the extent of mischief done to the roads; but the expence of repairing them must be great. The canals are in a better state, but many of them are not finished. The Rhone and Rhine junction canal has already cost 12,000,000 of francs, and will yet cost 5,000,000 to complete it. This undertaking, as well as the canal of Quintin, is praiseworthy. The canal of Ourcq, undertaken on too expensive a plan, will cost 18,000,000 to complete it. The works at Paris were the object of the particular care of the government, because it could there display its magnificence, and render itself popular. Some of these works, however, have been very useful; among others, the hall for wine, and the markets. Other works, though not so directly useful, and designed for embellishment only, should not be abandoned. The estimate of the total expence of them was 55,510,000 francs: the expence already incurred is 24,191,000, of which 2,000,000 is not paid; 31,319,000 francs, therefore, re-
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mains to be expended, but part of this expence may be dispensed with or deferred.

“ The public treasury scarcely ever concurred in these immense undertakings. The government merely authorized the departments to impose additional duties; and when they granted them aids, they were stolen from the corporations out of the produce of their wood, or from their funds deposited in the *caisse d'amortissement*. Thus 11,000,000 have been furnished for the prisons, 5,000,000 for poor-houses (*depôts de mendicité*). This last institution requires yet 8,800,000 francs in order to complete it. From this rough and imperfect sketch, the situation of the ministry of the interior in its different branches will be seen. The arrear cannot be estimated with exactness, as all the reports from the prefects are not yet returned. A general estimate fixes it at between 40 and 50,000,000 of francs. To complete the undertakings which had been begun, but now suspended, it would require a much larger sum. Great reforms have been already commenced; but while the melancholy effects of the last government are felt to their full extent, the salutary results of the new operations, were necessarily slow in their developement.

“ *Ministry of War.*

“ We can present only approximations on the subject of this department, which we cannot warrant to be exact. In this was the principle of evil: hence arose that disorder which extended itself to all branches of the administration; thus the evil was necessarily greatest in this department, which was its centre and its source. The disasters of the three last campaigns have plunged this administration, before complicated, into a chaos. Commissaries have been directed to examine the losses of these campaigns, and the debts arising from them; but all the necessary materials have not been yet found, and they can only be supplied by calculations more or less uncertain.

“ The army of France in last May amounted to 520,000 men, including gens-d'armes, veterans, invalids, and the fencibles (*cannoniers garde-cotes*). Besides this force, there are 122,597 soldiers, of all ranks, on pensions, or reduced pay.

“ An hundred and sixty thousand prisoners return to us from Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia.

“ The staff of the army, comprising the corps of *ingénieurs*, geographers, of inspectors, and commissaries, is composed of 1874 persons.

“ The full pay, with the rations and allowances of all kinds, for the private soldiers, will amount for 1814, to . . . 202,000,000 fr.

“ Half-pay, and pensions 54,000,000

Total 256,000,000 fr.

“ The war of 1812 and 1813 has destroyed in artillery and warlike stores, a capital of 250,000,000 of francs.

“ Since 1804, the expence of keeping up fortified places in Old France has been 55,000,000, and in places now given up 115,000,000.

“ The budget of the ministry of war, properly so called, had been fixed at 360,000,000, for all branches of the service in the year 1814. It is known, that for some years the ministry of war has been divided into two parts, the *ministry of war*, and that of the *administration of the war*. The expences of this last ministry have amounted,

“ In 1812 to 238,000,000 fr.

1813 to 374,000,000

1814 they will amount to 380,000,000

which will make for the year 1814, between the two ministries of war, an expence of 740,000,000.

“ The arrears also of these two ministries are enormous. That of the ministry of war, according to the accounts presented, amounts to 104,000,000, and that of the administration of war to 157,000,000, in all 261,000,000 francs. But these accounts are not complete: the arrears of the armies during the years 1811, 12, 13, and 14, are yet unknown. Besides, this arrear does not comprise more than 100,000,000, which have been settled between the two ministries.

“ We must add, also, to the expences occasioned by the war, the requisitions which we have already mentioned, and many other articles, which, though not charged on the public treasury, have not the less heavily pressed upon the nation: for example, the expence of the Guards of Honour, and the officers of Cavaliers mounted and

and equipped—expences which amounted for the departments of Old France to 15,611,941 francs.

“ *Ministry of the Marine.*

“ The navy has, during 14 years, been weakened, by the very means which have been taken to give it the appearance of strength. To make on all our coasts the display of a factitious power—to appear to meditate gigantic projects, while the means of accomplishing them were insufficient, even through their exaggeration—to look on our seamen as recruits for the armies, was the system of the late government: a system which has led to the annihilation of the population of our coasts, and the complete exhaustion of our arsenals. The remonstrances of the most enlightened men, and of the most experienced mariners, and the evidence of facts, were incapable of checking those foolish enterprises, those violent measures, which belonged to a plan of domination oppressive in all its parts. Thus in 1804 the projected invasion of England was pompously announced. Ports which had never yet been entered, except by fishing-boats and packets, were immediately converted into vast maritime arsenals; immense works were commenced on a beach, which the winds and tides were incessantly covering with sand; forts, batteries, magazines, workshops, were erected; thousands of ships were built, and bought up on all the coasts of the ocean, and in the interior of the rivers, without considering how they should get to the place of rendezvous. Paris itself saw a dock-yard formed within its walls; and the most valuable materials were employed in the construction of these vessels, which were not even fit for their destination. And what now remains of all these armaments? The wreck of some of the vessels, and accounts which prove, that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla, upwards of 150,000,000 have been sacrificed since 1803. All that could be done by the talents of the engineers and the perseverance of the sailors, was done on the Scheldt. A numerous squadron manœuvred safely to this river, which was thought inaccessible to large ships of war; but this success would not satisfy the pride of power. The sides of the Scheldt were immediately covered with dock-yards, which all the neighbouring forests would not

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have supplied if the building had been carried on with the activity with which it began. It was in vain represented, that a severe winter would change the position of the sand banks, and make the river impassable to ships of the first class; that, at the approach of the ice, the crews would be shut in the basins, where all that the most skilful officers could teach them in the summer, would be forgotten. Nothing was listened to, and the treasure of France was lavished on an object which it was impossible to accomplish. It is known, by experience, that the use of stores is most economical where vessels of all sizes are built in one place; yet, under pretence of giving employ to naval artificers, and of working the wood on the spot where it was procured, ships were built in ports without any roads or safe anchorage, exposed during the winter to danger from the floats of ice, or having bars which could not be passed without difficulty and danger; from these ill-judged prospects, the expence of the superintending officers was necessarily increased.

“The great works at Cherbourg, and the fine squadron at Toulon, are the only good results from a system, in which, besides, there was nothing but weakness and improvidence. All our arsenals are completely dilapidated; the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. are squandered; and, during the last fifteen years, France has lost, in ill-judged expeditions, 43 ships of the line, 82 frigates, 76 corvettes, and 62 transports and packets, which could not be re-placed at an expence of 200 millions. The port of Brest, the finest and best in Europe, and where there were vast and magnificent establishments, has been entirely neglected. Not only are the arsenals exhausted, and unprovided with stores, but the ships are still more unprovided with good sailors. The loss of our colonies, the measures which oppressed commerce, the reverses experienced by our fleets, and the vexations exercised on our fisheries, would of themselves have sufficed to extinguish our maritime population; but the measure by which the last government gave the crews of ships the organization of regiments, pronounced the sentence of its absolute destruction. Many of these bodies supported, in the plains of Germany, and the mountains of Asturias, the lustre of the French arms; but they lost
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in the field the habits of the sea. Though the desire of glory might reconcile the officers to it, this method of life was most repugnant to the habits and taste of the sailors; and, above all, tended to keep them in a celibacy most destructive to the maritime force of the kingdom. It is therefore absolutely necessary to put an end to this system. The total debt of the marine is 61,500,000 francs.

“ *Ministry of Finance.*

“ The *Exposé* of this department is an explanation of the situation of the other ministries. Before we give the general results, we shall explain by what means the old government contrived to hide them. The old system bears at first the appearance of order and exactness. Before the commencement of each year, the Minister of Finance collected the demands of the other ministers for the expences of the year, to form his budget of Expences. On the other hand, from the state of the produce of the taxes he formed the budget of Receipts. These two tables being balanced against one another, composed the general budget of the state, and seemed to promise, that by realizing all the revenues, all the expences might be provided for. But this equilibrium was fictitious, both budgets being distorted by inexactness and falsehood. The funds which were termed *special*, amounting to above 100,000,000 of francs yearly, were not put in the budget; and many extraordinary expences were not placed under the head of any ministry. The expence of the war was estimated much below its real amount. One conscription or more was raised in the course of the year; equipments, stores, or works, were ordered, without a proportional augmentation in the supplies. The receipts became thus insufficient, and considerable arrears were created. The estimated produce of the taxes, as stated in the budget, was for the most part eventual or exaggerated. Thus the budgets of 1812 and 1813 present a deficit of 312,032,000 francs. The head of the government was not ignorant of these deficits; but he was always in the hope of covering it either by those foreign tributes, which were the fruit of his first campaigns, or by drawing from the resources of the Special Fund in the *Domaines Extraordinaires*, in the *Caisse d'Amortissement*, in the *Caisse de Service*, &c. Thus is
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it that all the funds not destined to the service of the war have been, in fact, employed in it. Thence proceeds that arrear in the finances, which we shall proceed to detail.

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| “ 1. There has been taken from the <i>Special Funds</i> , and employed in the service of the budget | 53,580,000 |
| “ 2. There has been anticipated in the <i>Caisses du Domaine et de la Couronne</i> | 237,550,000 |
| “ 3. The <i>Caisse de Service</i> has advanced and consumed | 162,014,000 |
| “ 4. There has been abstracted from the <i>Caisse d'Amortissement</i> | 275,825,000 |
| “ 5. Add to these sums the arrears existing in the expences, at the particular charge of the Ministry of Finance, since the payment had been delayed or refused only because their funds had been otherwise employed. This arrear, comprising twelve millions of francs of half-pay, due and not paid, amounts to | 77,500,000 |

“ Thus the total of anticipations and misapplication of funds by the old government amounts to 805,469,000

If we add to this sum the arrears of the different ministries which are not yet exactly known, but which may be taken at 500,000,000 francs, the sum total of anticipations and arrears is 1,305,469,000 francs.

“ If we also add the creation of 17,000,000 of perpetual rents, representing a capital of 340,000,000, of which half indeed was applied to the payment of debts anterior to the year 8, there will result as the total of the increase of the debts of the state in the course of thirteen years, the sum of 1,645,469,000 francs.

“ This calculation is doubtless terrifying, but we must not look on the evil as irremediable. The Minister of Finances will explain to you what are the sums immediately requisite, those to be required at distant periods, and those which resolve themselves into a charge of interest only.

“ For us, called on simply to present you the *Exposé* of

of the present situation of the kingdom, we have confined ourselves to this painful task, we have dissembled nothing. The details will shew you at once the evil and its remedy. You will see the force of life always active, which has supported France amidst all its losses; you will see the resources which have struggled against disasters ever springing up anew; and you will wonder to behold so fertile, and so well cultivated, those fields which have so long been exposed to all kinds of devastation. Though terrified by the debt of the government, you will see in the hands of individuals capitals ready for useful undertakings; and, far from despairing of the prosperity of France, you will see, from what she has supported in calamity, the flourishing state to be expected under a beneficent government.

“ But the cares of the government will not be confined to the re-establishment of a prosperity purely material. Other sources of happiness and glory have been cruelly attacked. Morality, more than public wealth, has not escaped from the fatal influence of a bad government. That which has just been put an end to, completed the evils which the revolution had caused; it re-established religion merely to make it an instrument for its own purposes.

“ Public instruction, submitted to the same dependence, was not answerable to the efforts of the respectable body which directed it. These efforts were opposed by a despotism which wished to rule the minds of all, in order to enslave their bodies without resistance. The national education must take a more liberal course, to maintain itself on a level with the information common in Europe, by returning to principles now long forgotten amongst us.

Why cannot we also restore immediately to France those moral habits and that public spirit which cruel misfortunes and a long oppression have almost annihilated? Noble sentiments have been oppressed; generous ideas have been stifled. Not content with condemning to inaction the virtues which it dreaded, the government excited and fomented the passions of service to it; to extinguish public spirit, it called in the aid of personal interest; it offered its favours to ambition to silence the voice of conscience; it left no other career open but that
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of saving it, no other hope but that which it could realize; no ambition was indiscreet, no pretension seemed exaggerated. Hence the continual war of all interests and all desires; hence the instability in situations which allowed to no man the virtues of his office, because all were thinking of leaving it; hence the incessant attacks against every kind of probity, by seductions, from which the most generous characters could with difficulty defend themselves.

“ Such are the sad effects of the corrupting system which we have now to combat; let us not conceal their extent: there are periods when nations as well as kings require to be told the truth, however disagreeable and severe it may appear; we have not feared to tell it to you. The embarrassments of the moment are painful, the difficulties are great; much is to be expected from time; the nation will feel that the concurrence of its zeal is necessary to hasten the return of its own happiness; its confidence in the intentions of its King, the information and wisdom of the two Chambers, will render the task of the government less long and more easy. If any thing could prevent these hopes from being promptly realized, it would be that restless turbulence which wishes to enjoy immediately the good which it foresees; but from this your prudence will preserve us.

“ If the imposts were not paid, the debts would increase, and the insufficiency of the resources would not permit the contributions to be diminished. If the general union did not second the beneficent views of our King, useful enterprises would be put a stop to, important ameliorations would be suspended, and the impossibility of doing good would increase the existing evil.

“ In regretting the good which we have yet to wait for, let us enjoy that which is already within our reach; already peace has opened our ports; liberty restores the merchant to his speculations, and the workman to his labours; a principle of life circulates through all the members of the body politic: every one sees the end of his evils, and foresees a better destiny. Can we be indifferent to this future repose, after living so long in torment and inquietude? You will not be insensible, Gentlemen; the King confides equally on his people and their Deputies, and France expects every thing from their
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their generous agreement. What more fortunate circumstance than that of an Assembly which has deserved so well of its country, and a King who is desirous of being its father. Enjoy, Gentlemen, this fortunate re-union; see what France expects from it, what you have already done for it. Let these happy commencements encourage you in your career; and may the gratitude of your latest descendants be at once your emulation, your glory, and your recompence."

This interesting *Exposé* of the state of France upon the King's accession will be read with particular interest, as exhibiting, in a most forcible manner, the effects of tyranny upon the moral and physical resources of a great and prosperous nation. The French themselves were, without doubt, ignorant of the real state of things, which the ambitious policy of Napoleon had created; and, had it not been for the vigorous coalition which hurled him from his throne, they would have found out, when too late, that, for the empty glory of foreign conquest, they had exchanged the best and dearest interests of their country. To this communication of the King, the Chamber of Deputies addressed his Majesty as follows:—

"SIRE—In ordering to be presented to the two Chambers the *Exposé* of the situation of the kingdom, and in thus inviting the representatives of the nation to concur in repairing so many calamities, your Majesty placed a just confidence in your people; your faithful subjects of the Chamber of Deputies thank you for not having despaired of the safety of France.

"That picture, melancholy as it is, did not surprise us. When every power was confounded, every right disregarded, every access to truth choaked up, only the excess of calamity could bring a remedy.

"Under a just and pacific King, that picture causes us no fear. Encouraged by the generous proceedings of your Majesty, by institutions the work of your wisdom, and by your impartial tenderness towards all your children—the French will zealously make every sacrifice that is necessary for the public good. Sire, there are no irremediable evils in France, when the monarch, the great public bodies, and the people, breathe only one common wish, for the security of the throne, and the welfare of the country.

“ Hereafter, free and happy, your subjects will find in the resources of their industry, the means of supplying the wants of the state. Their first care will be agriculture; but, to render their labours successful, they expect from your Majesty the aids which manufactures and commerce furnish. In bringing back peace to our colonies, we shall receive in return an increase of riches, which the new genius of France will apply to the amelioration of the interior.

“ The neighbouring powers expect, Sire, to see the spirit of the nation directed to these great objects; and their confidence will revive, when they see the hands of a warlike people employed in the arts of peace. They are well aware that your Majesty aspires only to that share of those common advantages, which Providence has allotted to our geographical situation.

“ Thus industry will communicate new life to all the branches of public economy, and to all classes of the people comfort and the practice of virtue. This happiness will be the result of the meditations of your Majesty, and the concurrence of the whole nation in seconding your paternal views.

“ The Chamber of Deputies also will not disappoint the expectations of the throne, or the hopes of the people. They will unite their efforts to those of their King, to extinguish, if possible, every trace of our misfortunes.”

Louis XVIII. has no children: he will be succeeded, in his title, by his brother Monsieur. In his person he is extremely corpulent. His manners are affable, easy, and condescending; and his features marked with dignity. He has for some time been subject to severe attacks of the gout, which has greatly impaired his constitution. His Queen died a few years ago, and her remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey, from whence they will be conveyed to France, to be entombed amongst her illustrious ancestors.





Napoléon Buonaparte

Memoirs of the Public Life
OF
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,
LATE EMPEROR OF FRANCE.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, the subject of our present biography, ranks, unquestionably, the first amongst the public characters of Europe, and is one of the most extraordinary individuals that history records. Like many others of the great men which the French revolution has produced, Napoleon cannot boast of his high birth or an illustrious ancestry; but, being endowed with a profound genius, aided by an excellent education, he had succeeded in raising himself to a pitch of eminence and grandeur, that baffled all the calculations of his cotemporaries, and which must excite the astonishment of posterity. Having obtained the supreme authority in France, he appeared to have fixed it upon an immoveable basis; and had it not been for that unquenchable thirst of dominion, and that passion for military glory, which form so striking a feature in his character, and which led him into enterprises beyond his means to accomplish, he would, without doubt, have secured and transmitted to his son and heir the full and absolute sovereignty of the French empire. So firm and established was his power and authority, and so skilfully was it wielded, that it required all the energies and power of Europe combined to overthrow it: nor would this great consummation have taken place, had Napoleon possessed a common share of moderation, or known how to lower his pretensions with the decline of his fortune. He had abundant opportunities of accepting the terms and conditions which his enemies offered to him, and which they deemed so necessary for their own security as well as to the repose of the world. Their offers were neither degrading nor dishonourable; but, trusting too much to that fortune which had always been so constant to him, Napoleon blindly rejected them all,

and resolved rather to encounter the whole world, than submit to the least diminution of his power.

In writing the life of this extraordinary individual, and of one who has been the subject of so much adulation on the one hand, and unqualified abuse on the other, it will be difficult for us to form a proper and just estimate of his character, or to give a true colouring to the events of his life. His actions, however, are too conspicuous to be misrepresented; and as they will properly form the subject of our pen, we shall have little to fear from the charge of partiality.

Napoleon Buonaparte was born at Ajaccio, a small town in the Island of Corsica, in the Mediterranean, on the 15th of August 1769. He was the second son of Carlo Buonaparte, a lawyer, of Italian extraction, by his wife Letitia Raniolini; and it is affirmed that the celebrated General Paoli was his godfather. Many imputations upon his birth have been hazarded by his enemies; but it would be foreign to our business to notice them. He was very early patronized by Count Marbœuf, the military governor of Corsica; and this circumstance has given rise to assertions that Napoleon was the fruit of an illicit connexion between his patron and his mother. Be this as it may, it appears, so early as the tenth year of his age, through the interest of his patron, the young Buonaparte was placed in the Military School at Brienne;* which was one of those instituted in different

* The School at Brienne was one of the thirteen *Royal Military Schools*, or Colleges, which were established in various provinces of the kingdom of France, and they were particularly patronized by the two last sovereigns of the Bourbon family, Louis XV. and XVI. These establishments were magnificently endowed, and the pupils enjoyed every advantage which was essential to their domestic convenience. The most able masters superintended their education; and they were principally encouraged to acquire a competent knowledge of the ancient and modern languages, geography, history, the mathematics, and every branch of military science. These pursuits were, however, enlivened by the charms of elegant literature; the *utile* and the *dulce* were occasionally blended; and the fatigue of mind arising from abstruse inquiries was succeeded by an indulgence in studies that were less elaborate. The pupils were also expected to partake in such amusements as inure the constitution to toils which men trained to the military service are likely to experience. The rules of these schools put in requisition all the talents and activity of the pupils, directed their

ferent parts of France, as preparatory to the *Ecole Royale Militaire* at Paris. It was at this place, where he entered in the year 1779, that he laid the foundation of that military knowledge, which he so successfully practised against his enemies, and by which he raised to himself a monument of glory that will endure for ever.

Every anecdote of this celebrated individual has been carefully preserved; and his actions and employments when at the Military School at Brienne have been, in particular, the object of notice of his biographers. It appears, even at this early age, he discovered a peculiar temper of mind: he avoided the juvenile sports and amusements of the other pupils, and courted solitude and gloom; withdrawing himself from their mirth, he devoted his attention to sedentary rather than active employments, and appeared wholly engaged in his own individual pursuits. He often prosecuted his solitary studies in a little lonely garden, for the enlarging of which he contrived to oblige some of his comrades to give up to him the part allotted to them, and which he sought to separate more and more from the little possessions of his companions, by planting it thick with trees, and surrounding it with pallsades.

It does not appear that, on his first entrance at school, any extraordinary acquirements of learning marked an inordinate desire of instruction, or intenseness of appli-

their curiosity to subjects the most likely to display their ingenuity in discussing them, and, by exercising their minds and bodies, happily, attempered the corporeal and mental faculties to the advantage of their country.

L'Ecole Royale Militaire at Paris was at the head of the other military schools in the provinces, and it was to this school that not only subordination was acknowledged by the pupils of the others, but to which they looked forward as the haven of all the youths of pre-eminent genius that the military schools of the provinces had educated. Examinations were annually held in the presence of a Royal Inspector, who was most commonly a general officer, and of two members of the French Academy; and such pupils, whose proficiency in study qualified them for candidates, and whose good reputation in the school was verified by the testimony of the regents, were then selected and admitted pupils of the Royal Military School at Paris. Here their studies were completed, and from hence they were honourably dismissed, and immediately attached to some regiment, or appointed to some military employment.

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cation; he seems to have neglected, if not altogether rejected, in his early years, the attainment of the Latin language. He soon, however, applied himself with earnestness to the mathematics, the rudiments of which he was taught by Father Patraut, a minim at Brienne. Fortification, and all the other branches of military science and tactics, he studied with increasing ardour; and these, with the reading of history, principally of ancient Rome and Greece, were his most delightful occupations.

During the period which he continued at Brienne, a library was formed for the amusement and instruction of the pupils, and which was to be under their entire direction. To give them proper notions of arrangement and order, their superiors left the distribution of the books and other affairs to the management of two of the boarders, chosen by their comrades. The calls of Buonaparte on one of these who was appointed librarian, were so often and so much more frequent than the applications of his companions, that the young man considered him tiresome, and sometimes lost his temper; Buonaparte was not more patient, nor less positive, and on these occasions extorted submission by blows.

The hours of vacation between his attendance on the preceptors of the school were spent in his garden, which he cultivated so assiduously, as to preserve its interior in a state of order and cleanliness. Its boundaries became impervious, and inclosed a retreat that might have been coveted by a religious recluse. Here, when his horticultural labours were ended, he retired to its arbours, with his mathematical and scientific works; and, surrounded by these and other books, chiefly on historical subjects, he meditated the reduction of the principles he had imbibed to practice. He planned the attack and defence of fortified places, the arrangement of hostile corps in order of battle, calculated the chances of success on the one part, and of defeat on the other, altered their position, and formed charges and victories upon paper, and on the ground, which he afterwards realized with success when directing the evolutions of the French armies. His military ardour was increased by his historical reading; his enthusiasm was excited by the lives of those ancient legislators, heroes, and warriors, which
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are recorded by the venerable Plutarch, the splendour of whose actions have eclipsed the injustice at which they sometimes aimed, and which more frequently originated in the daring purposes of the factious partisan, or in the desperate policy of the bold-faced tyrant, than in the laudable design of the intrepid patriot to free his country from despotism, or than in the resolution of the chief of a free people to preserve their independence and secure their government from treachery. The life of the Marshal Prince of Saxony was also a frequent recreation to Buonaparte after a close application to the mathematics.

The *belles lettres* were not any source of his entertainment; his sole and undivided attention was to military acquirements, and a proficiency in the studies which form the habits of a warrior. Polite or liberal accomplishments, he appeared to consider that a soldier should disdain. He had, doubtless, heard of the achievements of Marlborough in the field, and perhaps that he had also studied the art of pleasing, "that by it he gained whoever he had a mind to gain; and he had a mind to gain every body because he knew that every body was, more or less, worth gaining." But it was not by gracefulness of demeanour that Buonaparte designed to win what he could not gain by mere force; he never sought to attain, by a display of any endeavour to please; what he could not possess by his power, he never relinquished the pursuit of, but acquired it by stratagem, in which there was no seeing of his influence. He scorned the arts of a courtier, nor even employed them where it might have been supposed that no other attempt would succeed. All other means, which power and the ingenuity of an uncultivated mind would have devised, he used without hesitation. His comrades called him the *Spartan*, and he retained the name until he quitted Bienne.

Buonaparte's attachment to Corsica was almost proverbial, and has evinced itself on many occasions. It was usual for the boys to receive the communion and be confirmed on the same day, and the ceremony was performed at the Military School by the Archbishop: when he came to Buonaparte, he asked him, like the rest, his Christian name; Buonaparte answered aloud, "Napoleon,"

leon." This name, being uncommon, escaped the Archbishop, who desired him to repeat it, which Buonaparte did, with an appearance of impatience. The minister who assisted, remarked to the prelate—"Napoleon! I do not know that saint."—"Parbleu! I believe it," observed Buonaparte; "that saint is a Corsican."

His fellow-pupils frequently irritated him by calling him a French vassal: he retorted eagerly, and with bitterness. He sometimes declared a belief that his destiny was to deliver Corsica from its dependence on France. The name of Paoli he never mentioned but with reverence, and he aspired to the honour of achieving the design which the plans of that officer could not accomplish. Genoa had added to the calamity of his country, by surrendering it to France, and thus exposed it to a subjection which it gallantly resisted, but to which superior force compelled submission. To the Genoese his hatred was inveterate and eternal. One of his school-fellows, in order to play upon him, presented to him a young Corsican as a Genoese, knowing his antipathy to the latter; the gloom of his countenance was instantly kindled into rage, he darted upon the lad with vehemence, twisted his hands in his hair, and was only prevented using further violence by the immediate interference of the stronger boys, who dragged the lad away from his resentment.

Buonaparte was always desirous of hearing accounts of the public transactions in Corsica. He revered his country, and never mentioned its resistance to France but with enthusiasm. He listened with the most lively interest to the various successes of the Corsican patriots in arms. Some of the French officers who had served in Corsica, would frequently go to the school at Brienne, and the conversation often turned upon the Corsican war. They would sometimes exaggerate their advantages over the Corsicans: Buonaparte allowed them to talk quietly on, occasionally however asking a shrewd question; but, when he was certain they had falsified a fact, he would eagerly exclaim, "Are you not ashamed, for a momentary gratification of vanity, to calumniate a whole nation." At one time an officer was describing a victory, that, he said, had been obtained by six hundred of the French; Buonaparte exclaimed,

claimed, " You say there were six hundred of you in the engagement; I know you were six thousand, and that you were opposed only by a few wretched Corsican peasants." He then opened his journals and maps, and, referring to them, declaimed against the vain-glorious boastings of the French officers.

His manners, whilst at this seminary, were very remarkable: pride was the prominent feature of his character; his conduct was austere; if he committed an error, it was not the fault of a boy, it was the result of deliberation, and what would, in maturer age, have been deemed a crime. His severity never forgave the offences of his companions. His resolves were immoveable, and his firmness in trifles tinged his behaviour with obstinacy and eccentricity. Frequently engaged in quarrels, he was often the greatest sufferer, as he generally contended on the weakest side; and though he was mostly singled out as an object of revenge, he never complained to his superiors of ill-treatment. He meditated retaliation in silence; and if he could not inflict a punishment himself, he disdained appealing to an authority that could enforce it.

The boys of the school were, however, gradually familiarized to his temper; he would not bend to them, and they were contented to concede to him. He accepted this acknowledgment of his superiority, without any appearance of self-gratulation; and although they could not esteem him for any of the milder virtues, they feared his inflexible nature, and allowed him either to indulge in seclusion, or to associate with themselves as he might please. The insurrections of the scholars against their masters were frequent; and Buonaparte was either at the head of each rebellion, or was selected to advocate their complaints. He was therefore generally selected as the leader, and suffered severe chastisement. He often vindicated his conduct, but never entreated pardon. He listened to reproach and reproof, to promises and to threats, without emotions of fear or surprise. He was never humiliated by those punishments that were intended to disgrace him; and the raillery of an ungenerous comrade, or a powerful superior, was equally received in sullen silence. He neither courted good-will nor feared resentment.

The meetings of the boys were on the plan of a military establishment. They formed themselves into companies, each under the command of a captain and other officers; and the whole composed a battalion, with a colonel at its head. The officers were chosen by the boys, and decorated by the ornaments usually attached to the French uniform. These distinctions of rank, being conferred by the lads, were mostly the reward of some pre-eminent virtue or ability; they were, therefore, considered by those who were so fortunate as to obtain them, as honourable *insignia* of merit. Buonaparte was unanimously chosen, and held the rank of, captain. He, however, by no means courted their approbation; for he was soon afterwards summoned before a court martial, which was called with all due formality, and, on charges being proved against him, declared unworthy to command those comrades whose good-will he despised. The sentence disgraced him to the lowest rank in the battalion; he was stripped of the distinguished marks of his command, but disdained to shew that he was affected by the disgrace.

The younger boys, however, were partial to Buonaparte's manners, for he sometimes encouraged them in their sports, and occasionally pointed out some advantage which in their warlike plays had been omitted to be occupied; hence he associated with them, and they voted him, by acclamation, the director of their diversions. Thus, if he felt regret for the loss of his juvenile military rank, he was now recompensed by becoming the leader of the lads who submitted to his authority—an authority they had bestowed on him, and which soon extended itself over all the youths in the school. Without being restricted to observe the rules which are essential to modern military duty, he could now bring his forces into the field, and direct all their operations. He availed himself of this new command, and he disciplined his comrades to a new mode of warfare.

Buonaparte divided his youthful comrades into two parties; they were alternately the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Greeks and the Persians. To represent the mode of fighting of the ancients in the open fields, was more easy for these lads than to imitate the movements of an army of modern times. They were

were destitute of artillery, which in European battles is sometimes more decisive of the fate of the day than any weapons of individual use. In sham fights, indeed, the musquet is more often used, because it more often happens that artillery is not to be obtained to heighten the effect of the contest; but the musquet, which is the only weapon in the hands of the soldier, is insufficient to picture in a sham fight its effects in an actual engagement, which is oftener decided by the bayonet than by fire-arms. Buonaparte therefore instituted and encouraged the practice of the ancient warfare; he excited the enthusiasm of his youthful soldiery by his speeches and his actions; he led on one party against another, and the victory was often disputed with an obstinacy that would have honoured a more important struggle. If his troops fled, he recalled them by his reproaches; by exposing himself to dangers he revived their ardour, and supported their intrepidity by his own bravery. These conflicts were often repeated, and the field of battle disputed with more firmness on every occasion. At length the games, which commenced in sport, seldom closed until the wounds of the combatants proved the earnestness with which they contended. The superiors of the college interfered; they reprimanded the young General Buonaparte, and a renewal of these battles was prohibited.

His activity repressed in the only exercise to which he was attached, Buonaparte retired to his favourite garden, resumed his former occupations, and appeared no more among his comrades until the winter of the year 1783. The severity of the weather had driven him from his retreat, the snow had lain thick upon the ground, and a hard frost had set in. Buonaparte, ever fertile in expedients, determined to open a winter campaign upon a new plan. The modern art of war succeeded to the ancient. Having been deeply engaged in the study of fortification, it was natural that he should be desirous of reducing its theory to practice. He called his fellow pupils around him; and, collecting their gardening implements, he put himself at their head, and they proceeded to procure large quantities of snow, which were brought to particular spots in the great court of the school, as he directed. Whilst they were thus occupied, he was busied in tracing

the boundaries of an extensive fortification; they soon formed entrenchments, and afterwards eagerly engaged in erecting forts, bastions, and redoubts of snow. They laboured with activity, and Buonaparte superintended their exertions.

The whole of these works were soon completed, according to the exact rules of art. The curiosity of the people of Brienne, and even strangers, was excited by the reports of their extent and scientific construction, and they went in crowds during the winter to admire them. Buonaparte, by turns, headed the assailants and the opponents; he united address with courage, and directed the operations with great applause. The weapons of the contending parties were snow-balls, and he continually kept up the interest by some military manoeuvre, which always surprised, if it did not astonish. The encounters were equally earnest with those of the summer campaign, but the arms were different. The superiors now encouraged these games of the boys, by praising those who distinguished themselves. The sports continued throughout the winter, and it was not until the sun of the month of March 1784 liquefied the fortress, that it was declared no longer tenable.

The rudeness of manners which Buonaparte displayed, and the violence of temper to which he was subject, were not at all softened or subdued previous to his quitting Brienne: his paroxysms of passion had sometimes amounted even to fury; and his anger was often so sudden and so uncontrollable, that few of his comrades would venture to hazard his displeasure. The following instance may be adduced of his extraordinary disposition.

The pupils of the Military School were permitted every year, on the day of St. Louis (the 25th of August), to give themselves up to pleasure, and the most noisy demonstrations of joy, almost without restraint. All punishment was suspended, all subordination ceased, and generally some accident occurred before the day concluded.

Such pupils as had attained fourteen years of age, an old custom of the college had allowed the privilege of purchasing a certain quantity of gunpowder; and, for a long time before the day arrived, these youths would assemble to prepare their fire-works. They were

were also permitted to discharge small cannon, muskets, and other fire-arms, when and as often as they thought proper.

It was on St. Louis's day, in 1784, the last year of Buonaparte's remaining at the school, that he affected an entire indifference to the means which his comrades used for its celebration. They were all animation and hilarity, activity and spirit. He was all gloom and taciturnity, thought, and reflection. Retired the whole day in his garden, he not only did not participate in the general rejoicing, but pretended to continue his usual study and occupations, without being disturbed by the noise. His comrades were too much engaged in their amusements, to think of interrupting him, and would only have laughed at his strange behaviour, if an uncommon circumstance had not drawn upon him their general attention and resentment.

Towards nine o'clock in the evening, about twenty of the young people were assembled in that garden which adjoined to his, in which the proprietor had promised to entertain them with a show. It consisted of a pyramid, composed of various fire-works; a light was applied; and, unfortunately, a box containing several pounds of gunpowder had been forgotten to be removed. While the youths were admiring the effect of the fire-works, a spark entered the box, which instantly exploded; some legs and arms were broken, two or three faces miserably burned, and several paces of wall thrown down. The confusion was very great, and some of the lads, in their alarm, endeavoured to escape through the adjoining fence; they broke the pallsades, and Buonaparte was seen, stationed on the other side, armed with a pick-axe, and pushing those back into the fire who had burst the fence. The blows which he bestowed on the unhappy fugitives increased the number of the wounded.

Such is the character that has been drawn of this extraordinary man, when at the school of Brienne: whether all the anecdotes that have been related of him at this place are true or false, may be a matter of doubt; but we are strongly inclined to think, that most of them are true and authentic. The industry of his cotemporaries would, no doubt, be exercised to discover every trait in his character; and nothing is so natural as to view him in
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his earlier days, when those marks of genius that generally distinguish and raise one man above another, are to be found displaying themselves, amongst his youthful companions.

His proficiency in his studies, by his indefatigable application at this place, had now fitted him for an examination previous to his being removed to *L'Ecole Royale Militaire* at Paris. M. le Chevalier de Renoult, was the Royal Inspector-General, who had owed his own promotion to his talents and industry, and therefore was the more disposed to encourage those qualities in others. He found Buonaparte perfectly master of those sciences which were necessary to be learnt previous to the pupils being sent to the Military College; he, accordingly, notwithstanding some opposition from the masters at Brienne, who represented several occurrences unfavourable to his promotion, adjudged him fit to be sent to this superior school. He was, therefore, after five years continuance at Brienne, promoted to the Royal Military College, where he arrived on the 17th of October 1784.

Napoleon being now removed to the Military College at Paris, pursued his studies with the same unremitted zeal and ardour, as had marked his conduct at Brienne, insomuch that he soon acquired a thorough knowledge of those sciences connected with his future profession. At this seminary he was under the superintendence of the celebrated Monge, as well as of other able masters. No wonder, therefore, aided by an excellent capacity, he should make such considerable progress.

At this college there were about three hundred pupils; and, from amongst them, he selected Lauriston, a youth of a phlegmatic temper, and Dupont, a daring and fearless young man, for his associates. He had made one friendship at Brienne, but which he never allowed to interrupt his professional avocations; this was with Faucalet de Bourienne, who was, like himself, a student of the mathematics, but of remarkably placid manners.

The leisure hours of Buonaparte at the college at Paris, were usually spent in one of the bastions of a small fort, called "*Lieu Brune*," which had been erected for the use of the pupils. It was there that he was often seen, with the works of Vauban, Muller, Cohorn, and Folard, open before him, drawing plans for the attack
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and defence of this little fort, according to the rules of the military art.

Monge had so well qualified Buonaparte by his care and information, that, on his first examination, he passed with praise, and was allowed to enter the regiment of artillery *De la Fere*, in garrison at Auxone, as Lieutenant, in the month of July 1785, and he immediately proceeded to join the regiment. His attention to the theory of his profession was as unremitting as ever; he devoted part of the night to the study of military details, and passed most of the day in contemplating and examining the fortifications of the garrison. In his occasional conversations with the officers of the regiment, he expressed opinions which were then considered as factious, both by those of the higher orders and those who were the partisans of royalty. His ill-humour was seldom concealed against any regulations that abridged the privileges or checked the licentiousness of the people; and whether those regulations affected the indefensible right of an individual, or a public body, he was equally adverse to the controlling power. His opposition to the government was uniform, and unchangeable by any endeavours to reason against its inconsistency or injustice.

Buonaparte had hitherto been supported by his patron Count Marbœuf; but this officer having paid the debt of nature in the year 1786 (about which time his own father also died), he was left destitute, except the scanty pay which his commission afforded. He therefore repaired to his mother in the Island of Corsica, where, for some time, he prosecuted with his usual ardour his military studies.

Some occurrences now took place in that island which seem to have suited his disposition; for a rebellion having taking place, or rather a revolution, similar to that in France, Buonaparte was appointed commander of a battalion (a petty officer, say others) in the National Guards at Ajaccio. This situation he did not, however, hold for any length of time; for, from some cause or other, he was soon dismissed from his post. Some accounts indeed say, that Paoli dreaded his talents, and feared he might stand in the way of his own interest, and for that reason, and for that only, expelled him and his whole family; along with whom he arrived at Marseilles, in the year

year 1793, the party consisting of his mother and sisters. Another account of his disgrace at Corsica, however, differs materially from this. It appears that, of the two battalions raised as National Guards in the island, one was commanded by Buonaparte, and was in actual service at Ajaccio. It was quartered in that town; and a large building, which had formerly been a seminary for the education of the young clergy, was allotted for its quarters. Ajaccio being a fortified town, a regiment of the line was stationed there as a garrison. The officers of this regiment, as well as the governor of the town, were zealously attached to the old system; and saw, with a jealous eye, a measure adopted so much at variance with all their ideas, as the establishment of a national militia, such as that decreed by the Constituent Assembly in 1791. The troop, as well as its young commander, became in consequence extremely obnoxious to them; and an order was sent by the commanding officer to Napoleon, to quit the town immediately with his battalion. With this order he refused to comply, alleging that he was not under the General's command, but under that of the nation, and his obedience was only due to the representatives of that nation, under whose orders he acted. The General, extremely incensed at finding his orders set at defiance, prepared to expel the militia by force from the town; whilst the young commander (always resolute in whatever he undertook) declared that he and his troops would defend themselves in their post to the last extremity: and he began to make his preparations for defence accordingly.

On this occasion it is evident, however, that he trusted to the republican principles which had already begun to operate powerfully upon the soldiery; and the French General had now a most severe mortification to undergo, for when the obedience of his own troops was put to the test, he did not find it so implicit as he expected. Indeed they soon shewed him, that they were strongly infected by an inclination for the new order of things in France; to which also they had been stimulated, by an address circulated among them, representing in strong terms the danger that would accrue to them by obeying the orders of the General, as they would thereby render themselves the instruments of destroying that liberty, which

which they were bound to support. This address urged also, in most forcible colours, that their obedience must ultimately lead to the most deplorable of all calamities—that of bringing brother soldiers to fight against each other: and, it having been read by one of the soldiers of the regiment to all the rest, it produced such an effect upon them that they immediately sent a deputation to their commander, stating, that they should always be ready to obey his orders in every thing conformable to the new system of things, but that they could not serve against it, nor fight against brother soldiers, who had been raised expressly for its support; whilst at the same time they sent another deputation to the new militia and their commander, assuring them that they would never fight against those whom they considered as their brothers in arms.

Whether cowardice or patriotism were the most powerful agents upon this occasion, we will not pretend to say; but the French commander, though extremely mortified and exasperated at a procedure which shewed how little his authority was regarded, yet seeing that it was in vain to attempt urging his troops further, and that such a step would only tend to unite them more strongly with the opposite party, reluctantly abandoned his design. Buonaparte became, however, still more the object of his jealousy and aversion, as he considered him to have been the author of the address; he therefore obtained a copy of it, determined to use it as an instrument of vengeance. The power of the old government was still sufficiently strong for his purpose, and he ordered Napoleon to be arrested, in order to bring him to a court martial; but it turned out, that the actual writer of this address was the officer who commanded the other patriotic battalion, and who, as his battalion was not called out into actual service, was not then amenable to a military tribunal. This person happened to meet the officer who was dispatched to arrest Buonaparte; and learning that the latter was the supposed author of the address, he immediately produced the original from his own pocket, and declared himself the writer of it. This was compared with the one in the General's possession, and the similarity of the hand-writing convinced the French commander that no

further steps could with propriety be taken in the affair.

The residence which Buonaparte, his mother, and sisters, took up on their arrival in France, was at Marseilles; where, it appears, he met with one of his cousins of the name of Arena (and brother to Arena, the deputy who was charged with attempting to stop Buonaparte at the time he dissolved the Council of Five Hundred). This person was then an officer in the French artillery, and had sufficient interest with Barras and Freron, then consuls of Marseilles, to obtain from them an officer's commission in the same corps for Napoleon.

Soon after this appointment, his regiment was ordered to Toulon, to take a part in the siege of that place; and here it was, he laid the foundation of his future greatness. The National Convention of France had determined to reduce this naval depôt to their authority, let the sacrifice be what it might. For a long time the deputies of the Convention were at a loss for a proper officer to conduct the engineering department; at last, Buonaparte was recommended to their notice by his countryman Salicetti, the deputy from Corsica to the Convention, and one of the national commissioners to the army before Toulon. Barras accordingly promoted him to the rank of General, and gave him the command of the artillery destined for the reduction of the place: this appointment gave him the opportunity of displaying his great talents, and was the principal cause of the speedy fall of the town.

His first military operation was decisive of success. Seeing that the possession of Malbousquet, one of the principal outposts of Toulon, would enable him to bombard the town and arsenal, he opened a strong battery of heavy cannon and mortars on the height of Arenes, which annoyed that position exceedingly, by means of an incessant fire of shot and shells. Governor O'Hara, observing the necessity of taking immediate and effectual measures for the security of so important a post, determined to destroy the new works, which were termed the Convention Battery, and carry off the artillery.

Having procured a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet, to defend a post from which he proposed to withdraw

draw some British soldiers; at five o'clock in the morning of the 30th of November, a corps of 400 British, 300 Sardinians, 600 Neapolitans, 600 Spaniards, and 400 French, marched from the town, under the command of Sir David Dundas. Notwithstanding they were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide afterwards into four columns, to march across olive grounds intersected by stone walls, and to ascend a very considerable height, cut into vine terraces, they succeeded in surprising the redoubt; but, instead of forming upon and occupying the long and narrow summit of the hill, agreeable to orders and military prudence, after having effected all the objects of the expedition, they impetuously followed the French troops, descended the heights, ascended other distant heights, and at length were compelled to retreat, by the French, who suddenly profited by their disorder, and obliged them to relinquish the advantages they had at first obtained. General O'Hara, who had ascended the battery as soon as the French were dispossessed, and when he supposed the object of the day had been obtained, arrived in time to witness the sudden reverse, and to be wounded and made prisoner by the French. His wound, though not dangerous, had bled much; and, added to the exertions he had before made, he was so far weakened that he could not retire many paces with the troops, but insisted on being left by two soldiers who were conducting him, and whom he ordered to proceed and save themselves.

The expectations of the besiegers were much raised by this event: they began to make nearer approaches to the town; and, by means of their batteries, not only attacked several important posts, but threatened a general assault. The garrison was in a very alarming situation. The French army, which amounted to near 40,000 men, was constantly increasing, and commanded by an intrepid and able general; and their batteries were managed under the direction of Buonaparte, who, though a mere youth, displayed the most cool and dauntless courage. The allied troops never exceeded 12,000 rank and file, and were now greatly diminished by disease and death. They were composed of the natives of five different nations, from whom an entire and firm co-operation could not, from the difference of their language and other

obvious causes, be expected. These had to defend a circumference of fifteen miles, including eight principal and intermediate posts, which alone required 9000 men.

The siege was now pursued with increased vigour. The French relieved such of their troops as were fatigued, and at two o'clock in the morning of the 17th of December, opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave; and from these, and three former ones, continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which killed many of the troops and destroyed the works. The weather proving rainy, they secretly assembled a large body of forces, with which they stormed the fortification, and entered with screwed bayonets, on the side defended by the Spaniards: upon which the British and other troops were obliged to retire towards the shore of Balquier.

At day-break another attack took place on all the posts occupied by the garrison on the mountain of Faron. They were repulsed, however, on the east side, by about 700 men, commanded by Colonel Jermagnan, a Piedmontese officer, who perished on the occasion; but they found means to penetrate by the back of the mountain, although 1800 feet high, and deemed inaccessible, so as to occupy the side which overlooks Toulon. In this day's fight, the English troops conducted themselves with great bravery; while the French, invigorated by their enthusiasm, and trusting to their numbers, charged with unusual intrepidity and success. The Deputy Arenà, who was a Corsican, headed one of their columns; and General Cervoni, a subject of the King of Sardinia, particularly distinguished himself. Buonaparte signalled himself on several occasions by a promptitude of exertion which marked him for one of the ablest candidates for military glory and renown. It is stated, that, in the midst of the engagement, Barras found fault with the direction of a gun, which had been pointed under the order of Buonaparte. The young General requested he would attend to his duty as a National Commissioner; "I will do my duty," said he, "according to my own judgment, and be answerable for the consequences with my head."

The British commander called a council of flag and
general

general officers, who deemed it impracticable to regain the posts that had been taken: and, as the town was not tenable, while they remained in possession of the enemy, it was determined that Toulon should be evacuated. The troops were accordingly withdrawn; and, in the course of the evening of the 17th of December, the combined fleet occupied a new station in the outer road. Early next morning, the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery, were sent off; the Neapolitans having abandoned their post, without orders, embarked at noon; and measures were taken to withdraw the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, amounting to about 7000 men, during the night.

It was necessary that the retreat should be effected as soon as possible, for the enemy not only commanded the town by their shot and shells, but also some of the ships. The allies removed their shipping beyond the reach of the shot and shells with which they were assailed by the enemy without intermission, till ten o'clock at night, of the 19th of December, when the town was set fire to in different places by the allies, as well as part of the shipping, after which they began a precipitate retreat; and the republicans took possession next morning at three o'clock. The haste with which the place was abandoned, left much property and a number of vessels an easy prey to the conquerors, but left the inhabitants in a situation truly melancholy and deplorable. When they perceived that flight was resolved on, they repaired in multitudes to the shores, and requested the protection, from their greatest enemies, which the crown of Britain had pledged itself to grant them. It must indeed be acknowledged, that several efforts were made to convey thousands of them to the ships, yet it was found impossible not to leave multitudes behind to suffer the incalculable tortures which would, no doubt, be inflicted on them by their incensed countrymen. Numbers of them were beheld to take away their own lives, deeming that a more lenient method of terminating existence than what they had to expect from the republicans; while others threw themselves into the water, making many fruitless efforts to come at the British vessels. The flames continued to spread with astonishing rapidity; and the ships, previously set on fire, were every moment in danger

danger of blowing up, and burying every thing around them in irretrievable destruction.

But if the land exhibited such a scene of horror, the spectacle was no less dreadful on board the ships. These were filled with a motley group of all descriptions, men, women, and children, old and young, and of various nations. To add to their calamities, they had on board the sick from all the hospitals; and the festering wounds of those who were yet undrest, became extremely offensive as well as dangerous. A sight so horrible was perhaps only exceeded by the dolorous complaints and mournful cries of multitudes for their husbands, fathers, or children, who had been unavoidably left on shore. No colouring of language could do justice to this tremendous scene.

In addition to all the miseries already mentioned, they had to struggle with an almost real famine, as the food on board was not near sufficient for such an immense multitude, and almost unfit for use. The British found thirty-one ships of the line at Toulon, thirteen of which were left behind, nine burnt in the harbour, and one at Leghorn, besides four more which Lord Hood had sent to Brest and Rochfort, with 5000 seamen belonging to France, whom he was under considerable apprehensions it would be dangerous to confide in. It appears therefore, that Great Britain *acquired* by this sanguinary and expensive expedition to Toulon, no more than three ships of the line and five frigates. The French gained from the allies more than an hundred pieces of cannon, four hundred oxen, sheep, and hogs, together with vast quantities of forage, and every species of provision.

Thus, after a siege of about three months, and an incessant assault for five successive days and nights, Toulon was restored to France. The besieging army had provided 4000 ladders for an assault; but, on the evacuation of the place, they entered it at seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th of December 1793.

Some of the inhabitants who had favoured the allies, remained behind, and perished, either by their own hands or the guillotine. On the royalists at Toulon, as well as at Marseilles, the most cruel punishments were inflicted; and the victory of the conquerors was sullied by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage. The population became
daily

daily and visibly decreased by the continual butchery of the people. The principal habitations were destroyed by workmen, who were invited from the neighbouring department to demolish the town. The name of Toulon was changed for that of Port de la Montagne; and a grand festival was celebrated at Paris, in honour of the event, to which the members of the Convention went in procession.

Thus ended the siege of Toulon: its progress had eminently contributed to raise the military character of Buonaparte; but the cruelties which were exercised upon the defenceless inhabitants, after the surrender, will tarnish the glory otherwise belonging to him.

After the siege of Toulon, Napoleon was appointed General of Brigade, and was sent to Nice. Here he was arrested by Baffroy, the Deputy of the Convention, on the charge of being a terrorist, and of exercising unnecessary cruelties after the taking of Toulon. Whether those atrocities are to be imputed alone to him, would perhaps be difficult to find out; if we are to trust to the assertions of his enemies, no doubt would remain but that he deeply partook of them; and, indeed, it being made one of the charges of his arrest, seems to countenance their assertions.* He was soon released from his arrest;

* The atrocities which followed the surrender of Toulon, are almost too dreadful to be related.

No sooner was the town evacuated by the English and Spaniards, and occupied by the republicans, than all the principal Toulonese citizens were ordered to repair to the market-place, where they were surrounded by a great military force.

At this time, in the prison of Toulon was a Frenchman who had been committed for some heinous offence, but he was liberated by the French agents in consequence of his undertaking to select those of the inhabitants who had in any manner favoured the capitulation of the place, or who had shewn any hospitality to the English whilst they were in possession of it.

This miscreant passed before the citizens, who were drawn out in lines, amounting to near 3000: amongst whom he pointed out about 1400 persons to the fury of the republican bloodhounds. Without any evidence, or further examination, these were all immediately adjudged to be shot; for which purpose a suitable number of soldiers were drawn out. The unhappy victims were then marched out to their destruction upon the quay, in sets of 300, and there inhumanly butchered. The carnage was dreadful. In the last of these unfortunate groups were two gentlemen of great respectability, who received no wound from

arrest; but his command in the artillery was taken from him, although he was not wholly dismissed the service, for a command in the infantry was offered to him, which he refused to accept.

During his stay at Nice, he was almost constantly employed, and spent many hours of the night in study. One of his friends, on a very particular occasion, went to his apartments, long before day, and not doubting but he was in bed, knocked softly at the door, for fear of disturbing him too abruptly; but, upon entering his chamber, he was surprised to find Buonaparte dressed, as in the day, with plans, maps, and numerous books lying around him. "What!" said his friend, "not yet in bed?" "In bed," answered Napoleon, "I am already risen." "Indeed," observed his friend, "what so early?" "Yes, so early, two or three hours are enough for sleep."

Soon after he was forced from his arrest, he went to Paris in order to complain of the injustice done to him. Aubry, who was then at the head of the military department of the Committee of Public Safety, refused him every thing, except the commission in the

from the fire, but, to preserve themselves, dropped with the rest, and exhibited all the appearances of having participated in the general fate.

This execution took place in the evening. Immediately after its close, the soldiers, fatigued, and sick with cold-blooded slaughter, marched back to their quarters, without examining whether every person upon whom they had fired, had fallen a victim to the murderous bullet. Soon after the soldiers had retired, the women of Toulon, allured by plunder, proceeded to the fatal spot. Mounted upon the bodies of the fallen, they stripped the dead and dying. The night was stormy. The moon emerging from dark clouds, occasionally shed its pale lustre upon this horrible scene. When the plunderers had abandoned their prey, during an interval of deep darkness, in the dead of the night, when all was silent, unconscious of each other's intentions, the two citizens who had escaped the general carnage, disencumbered themselves from the dead under whom they were buried; chilled, and naked, in an agony of mind not to be described, they at the same moment attempted to escape. In their agitation they rushed against each other. Expressions of terror and surprise dropped from each of them. "Oh! God! it is my father!"—"My son! my son! my son!" exclaimed the other, clasping him in his arms. In fact, they were father and son, who had thus miraculously escaped, and met in this extraordinary manner. Their lives thus saved they were fortunately enabled to enjoy, and about two years afterwards they re-settled at Toulon.

infantry

infantry, which had been before offered to him. Buona-
parte then demanded his discharge, which was refused.
He then required permission to go to Constantinople,
no doubt with a view of offering his services to the
Sublime Porte; which was also refused.

He, however, obtained, in the year 1794, the command
of an expedition which was fitted out against Ajaccio,
his native town; but he was repulsed in the attempt by
one of his own relations, named Masteria, who was then
in the British service, and had served under General
Elliot at the siege of Gibraltar.

The expedition having failed, Napoleon returned to
France. From this time he remained in great obscurity,
and was subject to considerable distresses, arising from
the slenderness of his resources: he was indebted to the
bounty of his friends for support, and no prospect ap-
peared of calling his talents into exertion.

The events, however, that happened at Paris at the
end of the year 1795, occasioned him to be again em-
ployed, where he acted a distinguished part. We have
briefly noticed these occurrences in our Memoirs of
Louis XVIII.; but it will be necessary here to give
them more in detail, as the part that Napoleon acted in
them forms a conspicuous feature in his life.

The new constitution of France, which was voted after
the fall of Robespierre, was cordially approved of, ex-
cept that part which enacted that two-thirds of the
Convention should be re-elected, and, in default of the
departments not returning two-thirds, that the Conven-
tion should then supply the defect by its own nomination.
This was certainly an assumption of power on the part
of the National Convention, that laid prostrate every
principle of liberty, and seemed calculated to perpetuate
for ever their authority. It was accordingly resisted by
the people, which occasioned one of the most bloody
civil contests that had occurred during the whole of
this sanguinary revolution.

The Parisians, exasperated at this singular stretch of
power, were resolved to resist it; and the opposition,
which at first seemed but feeble, soon grew up to a formi-
dable appearance. The boldness of the Parisians in
their opposition to the measures of the Convention was
met by corresponding firmness on the part of that body;

and they refused to admit any deputation from the people to their sittings. On the 26th of September they decreed, that those presidents and secretaries of the primary assemblies, who should put to the vote or sign any resolution foreign to the object of their convocation, would be guilty of an attack upon the safety of the republic. This decree was totally disregarded. On the 3d of October it was decreed, that the primary assemblies of Paris, which had appointed three electors, should be commanded to separate instantly, and that the electors should be forbidden to assemble before the period fixed by the decree. The sections of Paris had passed several *arrets*: these were annulled, and the commanders of the armed force were directed not to obey them.

The Convention declared itself in a state of permanence; and affairs appeared to be fast approaching to a crisis. At seven o'clock in the evening, Etienne Dupin, secretary of the department of the Seine, appeared, with six dragoons and two trumpeters, on the Place de Theatre François, to proclaim the decree; and whilst reading, a numerous crowd rushing from the theatre, increased the crowd without, and hissings and hootings interrupted the entire announcement of the decree. One of the heralds was assaulted, and the flambeau he held, by the light of which the decree was being read, was extinguished. The Convention ordered the deputies, charged with the direction of the armed force, to secure the electors assembled in the place of meeting of the primary assembly of the Theatre François, who had refused to obey the law which ordered the closing of the assemblies. The electoral body, however, did not wait for the decree of the Convention to separate; for when the troops arrived, they found the place of meeting empty.

On Sunday the 4th of October, the Convention issued a proclamation, which began by stating, that, "after having exhausted all paternal means, they were resolved to put an end to the scandalous struggle which had taken place between the general will of the people and a handful of royalists."—"Friends to the laws! defenders of liberty!" it concluded, "listen to the voice of duty, and as soon as the cry of '*Aid to the law!*' shall be heard, hasten to join the banners of virtue; at the sight
of

of you the conspirators will fly, and soon will peace and happiness be raised upon the ruins of faction."

During these commotions, the Convention continued to order troops into the metropolis; and they mingled with them several hundreds of the terrorists who had been confined in prison, from their well-known and mortal antipathy against the sections. These men, though by no means well affected towards the Convention, were glad to purchase their freedom, for the opportunity of exterminating the people they denominated *Muscadins* and Royalists. Such a guard was vehemently exclaimed against by the different sections. They conceived it to be a signal for the return of such a government as that of Robespierre, and the establishment of revolutionary tyranny. On the 4th of October, General Menou, who commanded the military force of Paris, was dispatched to the principal place where the sections met, which was Lepelletier, in order to effect their dispersion, or deprive them of their arms. The deputy who had been chosen to visit the sections, and General Menou, held long conferences with them, when they declared that they would cheerfully lay down their arms, if the Convention would disarm the terrorists; but, as they had no authority to come to any terms with the sections, the troops for the present were withdrawn on both sides, which gave the greatest offence to the Convention, and for which General Menou was deprived of his command.

The Deputy Barras, who had been charged with the direction of the armed force, was now appointed in his room; and he resolved to avail himself of the assistance of Buonaparte, who was then at Paris. There was no time, nor was there any reason, for hesitation; he sent for Buonaparte, and immediately gave him the second command of the Conventional troops then in Paris.

In the mean time, the sections beat to arms, and appeared every moment more serious in their military preparations. The inhabitants were awakened at midnight by the sound of drums, and a knocking at almost every door, accompanied with the incessant cry of "*To arms, to arms, Citizens! every one to his section—Liberty or death.*" This did not produce any material effect, as the people in general did not suppose that the intended assault was to be made at night. About noon, however,

the next day, the celebrated 13th of Vendemiaire (5th October), the people were again in motion, with a view to march their forces against the Thuilleries.

The troops of the Convention extended from the Pont Neuf, along the quays on the right bank of the Seine, to the Champs Elysées, and were continued to the Boulevards: the people occupied the Rue St. Honoré, the Place de Vendôme, St. Roch, and the Place du Palais Royal. The Convention had deceived the people, during the morning, in sending messages to the sections, and in receiving and discussing propositions for peace, whilst they gained time for reinforcing their positions, and encouraging the troops to fire upon the people when commanded. The debates in the Convention, and messages and letters to General Danican, who commanded the troops of the Parisians, kept the people discussing instead of fighting; and, to their great astonishment, the posts of the citizens at St. Roch, were suddenly fired upon from a house in the Cul de Sac Dauphin, and a dreadful scene of carnage commenced.

During the time that the citizens on the northern side of the river were engaged in close and terrible combat, those who were on the opposite were attempting to reach the Convention by the quay of Voltaire, although the cannon of the Convention, which defended each end of the bridge, presented to their view a most menacing appearance. The conflict on the one side of the river was not of long duration; for the commander of the column having endeavoured to force the passage, even without artillery, and but ill provided with ammunition, a discharge of musquetry was made, which instantly dispersed his followers: the artillery was commanded by Buonaparte. The battle near the Thuilleries, where the Convention were sitting, raged with great obstinacy, the cannon having been frequently seized upon by the insurgents, and as often retaken by the national troops. Though the sectionaries were destitute of artillery, they made a gallant opposition; and, after many severe repulses, they still returned to the charge, and did not retreat till after a bloody conflict, which lasted four hours. In the space of two hours the firing of the cannon was heard again, which did not terminate till midnight, when the troops of the Convention became masters of the field of battle,

battle, and routed the citizens at every post. The church of St. Roch, and the Palais d'Egalité, were forced: the gates were burst open by the cannon, and the people who had taken refuge within the walls were slaughtered. During the conflict the few deputies who were in the Convention remained in their places, with their president at their head. Many of the other deputies mixed with the troops who were without. The number of the people slain on this memorable day has been stated to have been 8000.

Barras, on this occasion, having had the chief command, received all the honours and all the credit that the Convention attached to the services of the day. The distinguished share that Buonaparte had in the affair, was extinguished by the superior pretensions of his superior. The unpopularity of the measure was not by any means likely to endear him to the Parisians; but he acquired notice, and Barras became, at length, so well satisfied with his conduct, that he took an early opportunity of rewarding his important achievement on the ever-to-be-remembered day of Vendemiaire.

After the dreadful struggle which terminated in the defeat of the Parisians, Napoleon, by the interest of Barras, was appointed second in command of the army of the interior; and afterwards, upon the resignation of his patron, the chief command was entrusted to him. This appointment gave him considerable weight in the new republic; and, to a man of his talents, must have opened to his view projects not quite compatible with the existence of a republican government.

We have hitherto viewed Napoleon acting in subordinate commands, in which his conduct has been marked with an energy and decision which could not fail of attracting the notice of the world. We shall now have to view him displaying those qualities on a larger theatre of action, and reducing to practice that study which he had so sedulously cultivated in his earlier years.

The army of Italy was without a commander-in-chief; and this important military appointment was destined to be filled by Buonaparte: his acceptance of it, however, was with the stipulation of his accepting Madame Beauharnois as his wife, who, it is affirmed was the mistress of Barras. It appears that this lady, at the age of
twenty-two,

twenty-two, married the Viscount Alexander de Beauharnois, major in a Royal French regiment of infantry; they were both descended from noble families, both natives of Martinique, and both educated in France. At the commencement of the French revolution, M. de Beauharnois was chosen, by the nobility of the bailiwick of Blois, a deputy to the States-General; and, in June 1791, he was elected their president, and in that capacity signed the proclamation to the French people, on the journey of the King to Varennes. He served under General Biron in April 1792, and bore the rank of Adjutant-General, when the French were defeated near Mons. He afterwards succeeded Custine in the command of the army of the Rhine; was suspended by the deputies in August 1793, and, shortly after, arrested with his wife. He was consigned to the guillotine on the 23d of July 1796. If Robespierre had not followed him, a few days after, Madame Beauharnois would also have perished on the republican scaffold. In one of the thirty-six lists of persons destined by Fouquier Thionville to supply the guillotine for thirty-six successive days, appeared the name of Madame de Beauharnois; another list contained the name of Barras. On the 12th of August 1794, she was released by Legendre. Barras caused the national seals to be taken off her house, in the Rue de Victoires, a few weeks after; and continued to honour her with his protection, by sojourning in her hotel, until October 1795, when his appointment to the office of Director required that he should occupy the splendid suite of apartments assigned him in the palace of the Luxembourg.

Barras, invested with the dignity of one of the chief magistrates of France, did not find it convenient to continue his intimacy with Madame Beauharnois. If their attachment had been mutual, it was either easily subdued, or it had suddenly subsided; for the lady agreed to an arrangement, which evinced her obedience to the wishes of her friend, and the self-command that she had acquired over her own feelings—she consented to give her hand to Napoleon Buonaparte, the General of the Interior, if the General himself could be induced to offer her his vows of conjugal affection. The plan was formed; and Barras proceeded to effect its completion, to provide his mistress with a husband, and his friend with a wife.

The

The army of Italy was without a leader. Carnot displaced General Scherer for habitual intoxication. Buonaparte having shewn his talents for command as well as for execution, both at Toulon and on the 13th Vendémiaire, Barras recommended him to Carnot, as the most likely man to serve the republic faithfully in Italy. Carnot's high opinion of the genius of Buonaparte seconded the nomination. Barras offered to Buonaparte Madame Beauharnois and 500,000 livres, and Carnot offered him the army. Barras told him, that the lady and the army were equally necessary to a youthful and aspiring general. His friendship, his gallantry, and his ambition, were roused; and as the terms of the offer implied, that neither could be gratified without the other, he obliged his friend Barras, and became the husband of Madame Beauharnois, and commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

Buonaparte arrived at the head-quarters early in the spring of 1796, and only awaited the disappearance of the snow, to commence his operations. In the interim he lived familiarly with the soldiers, marched on foot at their head, suffered their hardships and privations, redressed their grievances, and acquired, by attention to their desires, their esteem and affection. The strength of his army was very inferior in point of numbers to that of his enemies. "But, if we are vanquished," said he, "I shall have too much; if conquerors, we stand in need of nothing."

The Austrians and Piedmontese occupied all the passes and heights of the Alps which command the river Genoa. The French had their right supported by Savona, and their left towards Montenotte, while two demi-brigades were considerably advanced in front of their right at Voltri.

After some days spent in movements intended to deceive the French, hostilities were commenced by the Imperialists. Beaulieu ordered 10,000 men, on the 9th of April 1796, to attack the post of Voltri. General Cerioni, with 3000 men retreated, during the night, in great order, to the church of Our Lady of Savona; and Buonaparte covered his retreat with 1500 men, posted for that purpose in the avenues of Sospello, and on the heights of Verraggio. On the 10th, about four in the morning, Beaulieu, at the head of 15,000 men, attacked
and

and drove in all the posts which supported the centre of the French, and presented himself, at one o'clock of the day, before the redoubt of Montenotte, the last of their entrenchments. Notwithstanding repeated charges, this redoubt kept firm, and arrested the progress of the enemy. The chief of brigade, Rampon, who commanded these 1500 men, made his soldiers, in the midst of the fire, take an oath to perish in the redoubt, and, during the whole night, kept the enemy at the distance of pistol-shot. In the night time, General Laharpe, with all the troops of the right, took post behind the redoubt; and Buonaparte, followed by the Generals Berthier and Massena, and the Commissioner Salicetti, brought up the troops of his centre and his left, at one o'clock in the morning, by Altara, on the flank and rear of the Austrians. On the 11th, at day-break, Beaulieu and Laharpe attacked and charged each other with vigour and various success, when Massena appeared scattering death and terror on the flank rear of the Austro-Sardinians, where General Argenteau commanded. Soon after, the enemy's generals, Roccavina and Argenteau, were wounded, and the rout became complete. Fifteen hundred men were killed, and 2500 made prisoners, of which 60 were officers; several standards were also taken. The French made themselves masters of Carcara on the 12th, and also of Cairo.

Beaulieu, although beaten, was still able to send assistance from his right wing to the left of the Austro-Sardinian army. Buonaparte removed his head-quarters to Carcara on the 12th, and ordered General Laharpe to march to Sozello, in order to menace the eight battalions of the enemy stationed there, and to repair, on the day following, by a rapid and concealed march, to the town of Cairo; while General Massena was directed to gain the heights of Dego, at the same time that the Generals Menaud and Joubert occupied one of the heights of Biestro, and the other the interesting position of St. Marguerite. This movement following the battle of Montenotte, placed the French army on the other side of the Alps.

On the 13th, at day-break, General Augereau forced the defiles of Millesimo, while the Generals Menard and Joubert drove the enemy from all the neighbouring posts, and



*Marshal Augereau.
Duke of Castiglione.*

and surrounded a corps of 1500 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General Provera in person, a knight of the order of Maria Theresa, who gallantly retired to the summit of the mountain of Cossaria, and entrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle, extremely strong on account of its position. Augereau ordered his artillery to advance, when both kept up a cannonade for several hours. At eleven o'clock of the day, Buonaparte, vexed at finding his march arrested by a handful of men, ordered General Provera to be summoned to surrender: the latter requested to speak with the commander-in-chief; but a lively cannonade commencing on the right wing of the French prevented him from repairing to Provera, who continued to treat with General Augereau for several hours. Augereau, at length, formed his men into four columns, and advanced against the castle. Already had Joubert entered the enemy's entrenchments with seven men, when, being wounded in the head, he was thrown on the ground; and his soldiers thinking him dead, the movement of his column relaxed. The second column, commanded by General Banel, advanced in silence, when the General was killed at the foot of the enemy's entrenchments. The third column, under Adjutant-General Quenin, who was also killed, was in like manner disconcerted.

Night approaching gave Buonaparte reason to fear that the enemy would attempt to make their way, sword in hand: he, therefore, ordered all the battalions to unite, epaulments of casks to be formed, and howitzer batteries planted within half a musquet-shot of the enemy.

At dawn of day on the 14th, the hostile armies faced each other: the French left, under Augereau, kept General Provera blockaded. Several of the enemy's regiments, and among others, that of Belgiojoso, attempted to penetrate the centre of the French, but were vigorously repulsed by General Menard, who was then directed to fall back on the right wing. Before one o'clock at noon General Massena extended his line beyond the enemy's left, which occupied the village of Dego with strong entrenchments and vigorous batteries. The French pushed forward their light troops as far as the road leading from Dego to Spino. General Laharpe marched with his division in three close columns: the

one on his left, commanded by General Causse, crossed the Bormida under the enemy's fire, with the water up to their middle, and attacked the right of the enemy's left wing; General Cervoni, at the head of the second column, also passed the Bormida, under the protection of one of the French batteries, and advanced immediately against the enemy; while the third column, under Adjutant-General Boyer, turned a ravin, and cut off their retreat. The enemy, surrounded on all sides, had not time to capitulate; and the French columns, spreading every where terror and death, put them to the rout. While the right of the French made the necessary dispositions for attacking the enemy's left, General Provera, with the corps he commanded at Cossaria, surrendered prisoners of war. By this victory the French acquired from 7 to 9000 prisoners; and the enemy had between 2000 and 2500 killed.

On the 15th at day-break, Beaulieu, with 7000 Austrians, the flower of his army, attacked the village of Dego with great boldness, and carried it. Massena, as soon as he had formed part of his troops, began the attack, but was repulsed in three different attempts. General Causse was not more fortunate; having rallied the 99th demi-brigade, he attacked the enemy, and was on the point of charging with the bayonet, when he fell mortally wounded. In this condition, perceiving General Buonaparte, he collected his remaining strength, and asked him if Dego was retaken. "The posts are ours!" replied the General. "Then," said Causse, "*Vive la Republique!* I die content." The affair, however, was not yet decided, and it was already two o'clock of the afternoon. Buonaparte ordered a demi-brigade to form in column under General Victor, whilst Adjutant-General Lanus, rallying a demi-brigade of light infantry, precipitated himself, at their head, on the enemy's left. These combined movements carried Dego: the cavalry completed the rout of the enemy, who left 600 dead and 1400 prisoners. General Rusca had made himself master of the post of San-Giovanni, which commands the valley of the Bormida. General Augereau, having dislodged the enemy from the redoubts of Montezemo, opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, which Serrurier's division had already occupied.

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The activity with which these measures were executed cannot be too much remarked. The Directory, in their letter to Buonaparte, expressed the satisfaction they felt, in finding the choice they had made of him to conduct the army of Italy to victory, justified by the laurels he had gained. "To-day, General," said they, "receive the tribute of national gratitude; merit it more and more, and prove to Europe, that Beaulieu, by changing the field of battle, has not changed his opponent; that, beaten in the north, he shall be constantly defeated by the brave army of Italy; and that, with such defenders, liberty shall triumph over the impotent efforts of the enemies of the Republic."

General Laharpe, and the chief of brigade, Rampon, also received honourable testimonies of the regard which the Directory had to their exertions.

The well-directed movements of Generals Augeréau, Bayrand, and Joubert, compelled the enemy to evacuate the entrenched camp during the night. At day-break, on the 17th, General Serrurier entered the town of Ceva, and invested the citadel, in which was a garrison of between 7 and 800 men. The heavy artillery had not been able to keep pace with the rapid march of the army in the mountains, and had not yet arrived. The Piedmontese army, driven from Ceva, took a position at the confluence of the Cursaglia. On the 20th, Serrurier attacked their right, by the village of St. Michael, and passing the bridge, under the fire of the enemy, compelled them, after three hours fighting, to evacuate the village; but the Tanaro not being fordable, the division, which was to attack their left, could harass them only by its riflemen. General Serrurier was, therefore, obliged to retreat: the enemy's position was formidable; surrounded by two deep and impetuous rivers, they had cut down all the bridges, and erected strong batteries on the banks. Both armies spent the whole of the 21st in making dispositions, and in reciprocally seeking, by false manœuvres, to conceal their real intentions.

At two o'clock in the morning General Massena crossed the Tanaro, near Ceva, and occupied the village of Lezegno. Guieux and Fiorella, generals of brigade, made themselves masters of the bridge of the Torra. Buonaparte's object was, to bear down on Mondovi, and

compel the enemy to change the field of battle; but General Colli, fearing the issue of an engagement, which must have been decisive on so extended a line, retreated. At day-break, the two armies were in sight of each other, and the engagement began in the village of Vico. General Guieux bore down on the left of Mondovi, while the Generals Fiorella and Dammartin attacked and carried the redoubt which covered the enemy's centre; upon this the Sardinian army abandoned the field of battle, and the same evening the French entered Mondovi. The enemy's loss amounted to 1800 men, of whom 1300 were prisoners.

After the battle of Mondovi, the enemy crossed the Stura, and took a position between Coni and Cherasco. On the 24th, the French entered the town of Bena. General Serrurier, on the 25th, marched with his division to La Trinité, and cannonaded the town of Fossano, the head-quarters of General Colli. General Massena advanced against Cherasco, and drove in the enemy's grand guard. Buonaparte sent General Dujard, and his own aid-de-camp, Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and plant howitzer batteries on purpose to beat down the pallisades. The enemy, after some discharges of their artillery, evacuated the town, and repassed the Stura. The French took 28 pieces of cannon, and very considerable magazines. This victory was of the greatest consequence; for, besides supporting their right wing, it furnished an ample store of subsistence. The French threw bridges of boats across the Stura, and Fossano surrendered to Serrurier. General Augereau marched against Alba, which surrendered, and threw several bridges of boats across the Tanaro, to enable the army to pass the river.

The King of Sardinia was now reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in Turin: the aged monarch, fearful that he should receive no reinforcement from the Austrians, determined to treat for peace. General Colli, commander-in-chief of his army, upon the 23d of April, addressed a letter to Buonaparte, stating, that as his Majesty the King had sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa, to treat for peace, under the mediation of the court of Spain; he was of opinion, the interests of humanity required that hostilities should be suspended on
both

both sides, during the dependence of the negotiation. He, therefore, proposed an armistice, either unlimited, or for a certain time, as the General should think proper, with a view to prevent the useless effusion of human blood. To this letter Buonaparte replied, that the Executive Directory had reserved to itself the right of treating for peace: it was, therefore, necessary that the plenipotentiaries of the King should repair to Paris, or wait at Genoa the arrival of the plenipotentiaries whom the French government might send thither. He further observed, that the military position of the two armies rendered impossible every unqualified suspension of arms; and although, for his own part, he was convinced that government was disposed to grant reasonable conditions of peace to his Majesty, yet he could not, on vague presumptions, arrest his march. There was, however, he remarked, a way whereby General Colli might attain his purpose, conformable to the true interests of his court, and which would prevent an effusion of blood; and that was, to put into his possession two of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, or Tortona: they could then wait, without further hostilities, the issue of negotiations, which might perhaps be protracted. A peace was granted to the unfortunate monarch: he surrendered Exilles, Tortona, Coni, Alexandria, and Château Dauphin, as the pledges of his faith, and relinquished Savoy and the county of Nice for ever.

On the 26th, Napoleon published the following address to his army:—

“**SOLDIERS!**—In the course of fourteen days you have acquired six victories, taken 21 stand of colours, 50 pieces of cannon, several strong fortresses, and conquered the richest portion of Piedmont: you have taken 1500 prisoners, and killed and wounded more than 10,000 men. You have hitherto, however, fought only for sterile rocks, rendered famous by your courage, but useless to your country: and by your services you have emulated the conquering army of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of every thing, you have supplied every thing; without cannon you have gained battles; without bridges you have crossed rivers; without shoes you have performed forced marches; without brandy, and often without bread, you have spent the night in arms.

arms. Republican phalanxes! the soldiers of liberty are alone capable of suffering what you have experienced, and your grateful country will owe to you a part of its prosperity. If the recovery of Toulon presaged the immortal campaign of 1793, your present victories augur a campaign still more glorious. The two armies, that but lately attacked you with audacity, now fly, in terror, before you; and the base men, who ridiculed your misery, and inwardly rejoiced at the triumph of the foe, are abashed, and tremble.

“ It is, however, not to be dissembled, that you have effected nothing, while there remains any thing to be performed. Neither Turin nor Milan are yet in your possession, and the ashes of the conquerors of the Tarquins are still trodden on by the assassins of Basseville.

“ At the commencement of the campaign you were destitute of every thing; to-day you are abundantly supplied; the magazines, taken from the enemy, are numerous; and the heavy and field artillery have arrived. Your native land has a right to expect great things from you, and you will justify its expectation. The greatest obstacles have been surmounted, but you have still battles to fight, cities to take, and rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage fails? Are there any who prefer to re-cross the peaks of the Apennines and the Alps, and patiently submit to the insults of a slavish soldiery? No: such a one exists not among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, and of Mondovi: all burn to extend afar the glory of the French nation; all are eager to humble those arrogant monarchs, who dared to meditate the slavery of France; all of us wish to dictate a glorious peace, that will indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices it has made; and every one wishes, on returning to his native village, to be able to assert with pride, that he was of the conquering army of Italy.

“ This conquest I promise to you, but on a condition that it is necessary you should swear to observe. This condition is, to respect the people whom you liberate, and to repress the dreadful pillage which are only committed by miscreants. Without the observance of this, the republican army will not be the deliverers of the people, but their scourges; they will not be the honour of
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the French nation, but they will be disclaimed by their country; your victories, your courage, your success, and the blood of your brethren who have fallen in battles—all, even their honour, and your glory, will be lost. As to myself, and the generals enjoying the confidence of the troops, they will blush to command an army without discipline or restraint, and which recognizes no law, but that of force. Invested with the national authority, and rendered strong by justice and the laws, I know how to compel the few, who are destitute of courage and sentiment, to respect the laws of humanity and honour, should they dare to trample them under foot. I will not suffer brigands to sully the laurels of the army of Italy; I will see that every regulation be rigorously executed; marauders shall be shot without pity. Already some have fallen victims to this odious crime; but I remarked, with pleasure, the eagerness and good conduct which my brave fellow-soldiers have displayed in executing their orders.

“ I proclaim to the nations of Italy, that the French army come to break their chains; that the French people are the friends of all nations; and I call on them to approach with confidence: and I declare, that their property, their religion, and usages will be respected; that the French troops, in making war, will prove a generous enemy, and that they are the foes of those tyrants only, who enslave Italy.”

No sooner was the armistice with the King of Sardinia signed, than Napoleon lost no time in marching his army towards the Po. Massena had already reached Alexandria, and seized on the magazines. On the 6th of May, the army of Italy took possession of Tortona, where they found immense quantities of warlike stores.

By the stipulations in the armistice with the King of Sardinia, Buonaparte had artfully contrived to deceive General Beaulieu as to the point where he meant to pass the Po. In this treaty he had stipulated, that the town of Valero should be ceded to him; by which it was thought he meant to pass the river at that point. Beaulieu, accordingly, made every disposition to oppose the passage at that place; but Buonaparte had hastened, by forced marches, to Castel-San-Giovanni, with 5000 grenadiers and 1500 horse. At eleven at night, Andreossi,

dreossi, chief of a battalion of artillery, and Adjutant-General Frontin, with 100 dragoons, reconnoitred the Po as far as Placenza, and seized five boats, loaded with rice, on board of which were some officers, 500 sick, and all the army medicines. On the 7th, at nine in the morning, Buonaparte reached the Po, opposite Placenza. Two squadrons of hussars, posted on the other side of the river, appeared determined to dispute the passage. The French troops threw themselves into the boats, and landed on the other side, when, after a few musquet-shots, the enemy's cavalry retired: the divisions of the army, which had been drawn up *en echelons*, at different distances, passed the river in the course of the day. Meanwhile, Beaulieu, informed of the march of the French, was convinced, but when too late, of the inutility of his entrenchments on the Tesino, and his redoubts at Pavia.

On the 8th at noon, Buonaparte learned that a division of the enemy was near: he accordingly advanced, and found them entrenched in the village of Fombio with 20 pieces of cannon. After a lively cannonade, and a spirited resistance, the Austrians retreated, and were pursued as far as the Adda, and lost part of their baggage, 300 horses, and 500 men, killed or taken prisoners, among whom were several officers.

In the mean time another body of Imperialists reached Codogna, the head-quarters of General Laharpe, at two in the morning, and drove in the French videttes. General Laharpe, having mounted his horse on purpose to reconnoitre, ordered a demi-brigade to advance, when the enemy were beat back and disappeared; but Laharpe was killed by a ball. General Berthier repaired immediately to Codogna, pursued the enemy, and took Casal with a vast quantity of baggage. The passage of the Po was a most important operation, and strongly marked the energy and promptitude of Napoleon. The Duke of Parma, who was an eye-witness of the astonishing successes and rapidity of the republicans, hastened to make terms with them; but was only able to obtain them, on promising a large contribution, in money, horses, and provisions, and also engaging to deliver into the possession of the French twenty capital paintings to be selected by the victors; which, together with com-

missaries

missaries of peace, were to be instantly sent to Paris, in order to form a treaty with the republic.

It was on the 9th of May, that this arrangement was concluded; and the distance between the French and Austrian armies was at this moment so trifling, that another action seemed inevitable. Defence indeed seems now to have been the only policy of Beaulieu; who, though an intrepid and intelligent officer, could not fail to be sensible of the consternation with which his troops must be struck by these rapid advances and successes of the French. The moment itself was important; for the road to Milan was now open to Napoleon, and it was evident that if he could once obtain possession of the capital of Lombardy, the whole state must fall into his hands, and the Austrians be totally expelled from Italy. This, in fact, was now Buonaparte's great aim, as an achievement of the greatest glory, and one which would gratify the thirst of fame and of plunder in his officers and men, to the utmost of their wishes. Nothing, indeed, lay between him and that capital of Austrian Italy, but the shattered remnant of the Imperial army, and which was scarcely strong enough to risk another battle. This, however, Beaulieu determined to attempt; and accordingly he took post on the river Adda, over which there was a very long bridge which he had intended to break down; but in this he was frustrated by the vigilance and activity of Napoleon, who prevented its destruction. The Austrians, however, still had a numerous artillery to defend the passage of this *Bridge of Lodi*, near to which town it was situated.

Major Malcamp, son-in-law to Beaulieu the Austrian general, had the command of the advanced corps, and caused several pieces of cannon to be placed at the end of the bridge, for the purpose of enfilading it; he also planted some others on the right and left in order to form a cross fire. He might, indeed, have destroyed the bridge; but this he neglected, under an idea that the French would not even attempt to pass it.

This opinion, though not justified by the result, was not however an irrational one, as Napoleon did not think of making the attempt until the arrival of his whole army; when he assembled his general officers, and communicated to them his intention of storming the bridge. But this

his generals disapproved of; so that he, still persisting in his design, actually assembled a council of grenadiers, to whom he made an animating speech, and, at the same time, spiritedly stated all the dangers likely to be encountered in the assault. The grenadiers then answered, "Give us some brandy, and we will see what is to be done." It was given to them; when 4000 grenadiers and carabineers, forming themselves into a solid column, marched on to the attack.

At nine in the morning of the 10th of May, the battle began by several attacks on the Austrian posts in front of Lodi, into which town they were driven after a vigorous resistance. Even in the town the battle raged for some time; but the numerous reinforcements from the main body of the French soon drove the advanced guard of the Austrian army across the bridge to their principal post, where the whole of the Imperialists were drawn up in order of battle, with formidable batteries on their right and left flanks, to guard the important passage of the bridge. On the opposite side a battery was soon planted by the orders of Napoleon, when a most violent cannonade commenced, and was kept up during the greatest part of the day, with unceasing obstinacy on both sides. But now took place that important event which seems to have stamped the character of Buonaparte, at that period at least; for, being convinced that, unless he should succeed in his attempt to pass the bridge, a failure must ensue, which would be attended with all the ill consequences of a defeat, he resolved to risk every thing; and, with a personal promptitude highly honourable to him as a soldier, instantly formed a corps of chosen troops, whom he led, in person, to the attack of the bridge, in the midst of a most murderous fire, both of cannon and musquetry.

The French had, at this moment, actually been staggered: but the intrepidity displayed by their General, in some measure, served to confirm their courage, particularly as he was accompanied by all the principal officers of the army. Thus led on, they rushed to the attack with irresistible impetuosity; and, crossing the bridge over troops of killed and wounded, were, after a long contest, enabled to form in considerable force on the opposite side of the river, and instantly to break through the line

of Austrian artillery. The whole of the Imperialists now advanced to charge them; but these were soon put into disorder by a charge from the French, and put to flight on all sides, so that the victory was complete, though the republicans were not able to improve it to the utmost, in consequence of the excessive fatigue which a great part of them had undergone, having marched upwards of ten leagues that day, previous to the action.

Night, therefore, put an end to the battle; but not until the Austrians had lost upwards of 2000 men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, besides twenty pieces of cannon; whilst the French themselves sustained a very serious loss, not only in the general battle, but also in the mere crossing of the bridge, which cost them upwards of 900 of their best men, who were destroyed on it by the fire of the Austrian artillery.

Beaulieu, after this defeat, judged it impossible to prevent the advance of the French upon Milan; he therefore contented himself with rallying his defeated squadrons, and retreating upon Mantua. But even in that movement he was closely pursued by the French advance, who having driven him beyond Pizzighitona and Cremona, two places of some strength and importance, took possession of them both, whilst Napoleon himself, with the main body, pushed on for Pavia, where he got possession of all the Austrian magazines.

So rapid were these movements, that it was only five days after the battle of Lodi, the 15th of May, when Buonaparte reached Milan, a point decisive of the fate of Lombardy; and at which place he found it necessary, after a month's hard fighting, to allow his troops a short time for repose.

His entry into Milan was extremely brilliant. The National Guard, who were all on duty, lowered their arms to him, and the nobility and gentry went out to meet him in their most splendid equipages. The cavalcade proceeded to the Archducal Palace, where he was to lodge, attended by several bands of music playing patriotic marches and symphonies; and soon after his arrival, he sat down to a most sumptuous dinner of two hundred covers. The day was concluded by an elegant ball, where the ladies vied with each other in expressions

of patriotism, by wearing French national colours in every part of their attire. The day following, Buonaparte received many visits from the citizens, and in the evening there was a concert of vocal and instrumental music at the theatre. The next day all the chests, containing the property of the Archduke and the city, were emptied into the French coffers, and a splendid national fête was given, the day after, with considerable enthusiasm, which finished in the evening with a general illumination; the whole was terminated by sending deputations into the different towns and villages, to instruct the people in the principles of liberty and equality.

Napoleon now issued a proclamation to the people of Lombardy, stating, "That the French republic, which had sworn hatred to kings, had sworn, at the same time, fraternity to the people, and respect for property, persons, and religion; that the French people, regarding the people of Lombardy as their brethren, had a *right* to expect a just return; and he, therefore, should impose a contribution of 20,000,000 livres, which should be raised, in equal proportions, by the different districts of Lombardy: the necessities of the army," says he, "require it, and it is a slight sum for a country so fertile, considering, too, the advantages that must result from it."

The indefatigable Napoleon allowed his troops but a short time for repose at Milan; as long as he had enemies to fight, he was determined to allow them no breathing time. On the 20th of May, he published the following animating proclamation to his army:—

SOLDIERS!—You have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the summit of the Apennines; you have driven back and dispersed all who opposed your march. Piedmont, liberated from Austrian tyranny, has yielded to her natural sentiments of peace and amity towards France; Milan is your's, and the republican flag floats throughout Lombardy; while the Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence solely to your generosity.

"The army, which so haughtily menaced you, finds no barrier to secure it from your courage: the Po, the Tesino, and the Adda, have been unable to arrest your progress for a single day; these boasted ramparts of Italy have proved insufficient; you have surmounted them

them as rapidly as you cleared the Apennines. Such reiterated success has diffused joy through the bosom of your country; your representatives have decreed a festival in honour of your victories, to be celebrated in all the communes of the republic; there your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your sweethearts, rejoice in your successes, and boast with pride, of being related to you. Yes, soldiers! you have performed much—But remains there nothing more for you to effect? Shall it be said of us, that we knew how to conquer, but knew not how to profit by victory? shall posterity reproach us, that Lombardy proved to us what Capua was to Hannibal?—No! I already see you rushing to arms; an unmanly repose will fatigue you; the days lost to glory are lost to your happiness. Let us, therefore, depart; we still have forced marches to perform, enemies to conquer, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge.

“ Let those tremble who have wetted the poniards of civil war in France, and who have cowardly assassinated our ministers, and burned our ships at Toulon. The hour of vengeance has arrived; but let the people be tranquil. We are the friends of all nations, and more particularly of the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and the illustrious personages whom we have chosen as models. To restore the Capitol, to replace with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it renowned, and to rouse the Roman people, become torpid by so many ages of slavery, such will be the fruit of your victories; they will form an epoch to posterity, and you will have the immortal glory of renovating the fairest portion of Europe.

“ The French nation, free, and respected by all the world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, that will indemnify them for the numerous sacrifices they have made for these six years past. You will then return to your homes; and your fellow-citizens, when pointing to you, will say—HE WAS OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.”

Having put his army in motion, Napoleon himself left Milan on the 24th of May, leaving in that place only a sufficient number of troops to blockade the castle, which was still held by the Austrians. Scarcely, however,

ever, had he reached Lodi, when General Despinoy apprised him, that, three hours after his departure, the tocsin was sounded in Lombardy, and that it was industriously circulated, Nice had been taken by the English, the army of Condé had arrived by Switzerland on the confines of the Milanese, and Beaulieu, reinforced with 60,000 men, was on his march to Milan. Every where, and by every possible means, the people were called on to arm against the French. The nobles had dismissed their domestics, telling them, that equality did not permit the continuance of their services; and all the partisans of the house of Austria, the Sbirri, and agents of the customs, appeared in the front. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with five or six thousand peasants, invested the citadel, in which there were only 300 French.

At Milan the people destroyed the tree of liberty, tearing in pieces the tri-coloured cockade, and trampling it under foot. General Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse, whilst some patrols put the populace to flight. The gate leading to Pavia was still in the possession of the rebels, who every moment expected the peasants, whom they meant to introduce into the city: to compel them to submission, a terrible charge was made, and the example of a dreadful death restored tranquillity, but the city was given up to pillage for twenty-four hours.

The moment Napoleon was informed of these proceedings, he hastened back with 300 horse, and a battalion of grenadiers. On his arrival at Milan, he ordered a great number of hostages to be arrested, and those persons to be shot who had been taken in arms; at the same time intimating to the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they should be responsible for the public tranquillity. The municipality imposed a fine of three livres for every domestic discharged; and, order being thus re-established at Milan, Buonaparte proceeded to Pavia.

The chief of brigade, Lasnes, who commanded a moving column, attacked Binasco, which 7 or 800 armed peasants appeared determined to defend: he charged them, and, having killed about 100, dispersed the rest. Buonaparte ordered the village to be instantly burned, which exhibited a horrible spectacle, and, as he says, extorted many

many a sigh from the General. He then summoned the Archbishop of Milan, and sent him to Pavia, with the following proclamation:—

“ A misled multitude, destitute of the means of resistance, have been guilty of the greatest excesses in several communes, contemning the republic, and the brave army, triumphant over so many kings. This inconceivable frenzy merits pity: the unhappy people are led astray, only to conduct them to ruin. The General-in-Chief, faithful to the principles the French nation have adopted, who do not make war on the people, earnestly wishes to leave a gate open to repentance; but those who, in twenty-four hours, shall not lay down their arms, and take anew the oath of obedience to the French republic, shall be treated as rebels, and their villages burned. May the terrible example of Binasco make them open their eyes! its fate shall be that of all the towns and villages which persist in revolt.”

(Signed) “ BUONAPARTE.”

In this attempt for the recovery of their liberty, the insurgents had been most numerous at Pavia; in which city they had been so successful as to seize on the citadel, making prisoners of the small number of Frenchmen who formed its garrison. In consequence of this, some thousands of the peasantry entered the city, with a resolution to defend it to the last extremity, and actually refused admission to Napoleon, when he sent to demand its surrender. They answered, that while Pavia had walls, they would not surrender.

General Dammartin therefore formed the 6th battalion of grenadiers in close column, with two eight-pounders in their van; and each man having a hatchet in his hand, the gates were burst open, on which the immense multitude dispersed, and took refuge in caves, and on house-tops, attempting, but in vain, by throwing down tiles, to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. “ Thrice,” said Buonaparte, “ had the order to set fire to the city expired on my lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived, and hastened with cries of joy to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none were found missing: if the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column on which these impressive words were to be inscribed—

inscribed—*Here stood the city of Pavia!*” Buonaparte ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and 200 hostages to be arrested, and sent immediately into France. The punishments of Buonaparte, for insurrection, were tremendous: the village of Binasco burned—Milan given up to pillage, and many of its principal inhabitants put to death—the municipality of Pavia shot, after the city being taken, were terrible examples of his severity. Conflagration and bloodshed were no ordinary or ineffectual means of enforcing the submission of the conquered states. Buonaparte now issued a proclamation, purporting, that the nobles, the priests, and the agents of Austria, had led astray the inhabitants of these delightful countries; that the French army, as generous as brave, would treat as brethren the peaceable natives; but that it would be terrible, as the fire of heaven, to rebels, and to the villages that gave them protection. He, therefore, declared all those villages to be in a state of rebellion which had not complied with his order of the 25th; and directed the generals to march against them the forces necessary to suppress the insurgents, to set fire to them, and to shoot upon the spot all who were found with arms in their hands. All priests and nobles in the rebellious communes were to be arrested as hostages, and sent into France: all villages where the tocsin was sounded were to be instantly burnt; and the generals were made responsible for the execution of the order. The villages, in whose territory a single Frenchman was assassinated, were to pay a triple contribution of the sum they annually paid to the Archduke, until they should give up the assassin. Every man found with a musquet and ammunition, was to be immediately shot, by order of the General commanding the jurisdiction. Wherever concealed arms were found, the place was to be condemned to pay thrice its usual revenue by way of fine; and every house where a musquet was found was to be burnt, unless the proprietor should declare to whom the arms belonged. All the nobles and rich persons who should be convicted of exciting the people to revolt, either by discharging their domestics, or by their discourses against the French, were to be arrested as hostages, and carried away to France, and a part of their revenues confiscated.

The Austrian army had now taken post in the Venetian

tian territory, where Napoleon was resolved to follow them. But, before he took this step, he thought proper to address to that government a proclamation, which stated, that, to deliver the most beautiful country of Europe from the iron yoke of the haughty house of Austria, the French army had braved obstacles the most difficult to surmount: that victory, in unison with justice, had crowned their efforts: that the wrecks of the hostile army had retired across the Mincio; and in pursuit of them the French troops had now entered the Venetian territory; but they would not forget that a long amity united the two republics. Religion, government, usages, and property, would be respected. "Let the people," said he, "be free from inquietude; the severest discipline will be maintained, and every thing furnished to the army fully paid for in money:" he, therefore, required the officers of the Venetian Republic, the magistrates and priests, to make known his sentiments to the people, in order that confidence might strengthen the friendship which had so long united the two nations. "The French soldier," concluded he, "faithful in the path of honour as in that of victory, is terrible only to the enemies of his liberty and his government."

The post which the Imperialists had taken possession of, and that at least by the connivance of the Venetian government, was at the town of Peschiera, which was sufficiently strong to inspire the General with the hope of maintaining his ground until he should receive reinforcements; but the rapidity of plan and of movements of Napoleon frustrated his object, as he advanced the French army in great force, in the hopes of either driving him from Italy, or perhaps of obliging him to surrender, by cutting off his communication with the Tyrol, to which the road lay by the eastern end of Lago di Garda. The river Mincio ran between the invaders and Beaulieu's army; and a passage over it was to be effected before other operations could be commenced: accordingly he advanced several divisions of the French army towards the bridge of Borghetto, early in the morning of the 30th of May; but which the Austrians made strenuous efforts to defend. A warm action ensued, and Napoleon crossed it; when the Austrian general, fully penetrating his plan, instantly retreated from Peschiera with his whole army,

crossing the Adige, and breaking down all the bridges as he retired ; which so far prevented the French from following him, as to permit him to retire into the Tyrol, evacuating the whole of the Italian territories, and leaving Napoleon complete master of that ill-fated country.

On the 3d of June, Napoleon advanced to Verona, of which he took possession ; and he now determined upon laying siege to Mantua, which was the last stake possessed by the Austrians in Italy, and the occupation of which was likely to confirm the change of mastership in Italy.

Alarmed at the prospect of losing this important place, the cabinet of Vienna determined to adopt more energetic measures ; and accordingly they resolved on sending a new general into Italy ; for which purpose they selected Marshal Wurmser, who, although he had been more than once defeated by the French in Germany, was still considered as a gallant and experienced veteran.

Napoleon, whose emissaries were every where, soon got intelligence of this plan ; and he, therefore, resolved to commence the siege of Mantua instantly, in hopes of reducing it before the arrival of any succours : for which purpose he ordered its investment on the 4th of June 1796, driving in the outposts, and surrounding it on all sides.

This operation was, however, rather a blockade than a siege ; for, as he had not battering artillery with him, he was under the necessity of confining his hostile measures to the mere cutting off the supplies of provisions and of troops from the garrison ; and even to secure those two objects, he was obliged, particularly with regard to the latter, to transfer the war into the Tyrolese, a mountainous tract of country, inhabited by a bold and enterprising peasantry, and strongly attached to the Austrian sovereign.

But here he depended more upon treachery than upon open force ; and on the 14th of June he promulgated an address, in which he told the people, that he was to cross their territory, in order to compel the court of Vienna to a peace, as necessary to Europe as to its own subjects. It was their own cause he was to defend, for they had been too long harassed by the horrors of a war, undertaken

taken, not for the interests of Germany, but to gratify the passions of a single family. The French army respected and loved all nations, and more especially the simple and virtuous inhabitants of the mountains. "Your religion and your usages," said he, "shall be every where respected." Our troops will maintain a severe discipline, and nothing will be taken without being paid for in money. You will receive us with hospitality, and we will treat you with fraternity and friendship; but if there are any so little acquainted with their real interests as to take up arms, and treat us as enemies, we will be terrible as the fire of heaven; we will burn their houses, and devastate the villages which shall take part in a war that is foreign to them. Do not suffer yourselves to be led astray by the agents of Austria. Insure your country, already harassed by five years of war, from the misfortunes which must afflict it. Ere long the court of Vienna, forced to accede to peace, shall restore to the nations the privileges which it has usurped, and to Europe the tranquillity it has interrupted."

In these plans, however, Napoleon was for the present a little checked by the patriotism of the people in his rear; for the inhabitants of the different Imperial states in Tuscany, and on the borders of Piedmont, and the Genoese republic, had begun a system of predatory warfare, by attacking his convoys, and in a great measure intercepting his communications with France. In consequence of this he halted, and even sent back some strong detachments to quell those disturbances; by means of which the object of the insurgents was partly gained. However, the unfortunate people suffered dreadfully, for the celerity of the French movements soon enabled them to put down all opposition, which was followed by heavy fines and requisitions, accompanied in many instances with the severest military execution. By these severities he hoped to terrify the people into tranquillity, so as to be at liberty to follow his ulterior plans.

Napoleon now directed his hostility against the Pope; and, having invaded the territories of his Holiness, he took possession of Ferrara Bologna and Urbino, and threatened Rome with his hostile forces. This unprovoked attack upon his Holiness strongly marked the

character of the republicans, and demonstrated to the world, that no terms could be kept with them; that friend or foe were equally the object of their hatred; and that, actuated by a thirst of gain and plunder, they scrupled not to violate the most sacred rights, whether of nations or individuals. This invasion of the Pope's territory had the immediate effect of inducing him to conclude an armistice, instead of opposing the hostile forces. It was accordingly signed on the 23d of June; and stipulated, that his Holiness should send, as soon as possible, a plenipotentiary to Paris, to obtain from the Executive Directory a definitive peace, by offering the necessary reparations for the outrages and losses suffered by the French in his territory. That the ports belonging to the Pope should be shut against the vessels of the powers at war with the republic, and be open to French ships. That the French army should continue in possession of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara. That the citadel of Ancona should be put in the possession of the French within five days, with its artillery and stores. That the Pope should give up to the French republic, 100 paintings, busts, vases, or statues, in the choice of commissaries, who should be sent to Rome; among these articles, the bust, in bronze, of Junius Brutus, and that in marble, of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the Capitol, should be particularly comprised; and also 500 manuscripts, to be selected by the same commissaries. And that the Pope should pay to the French republic 21,000,000 of livres, French money, of which 15,500,000 livres should be in specie, or gold or silver ingots, and the remaining 5,500,000 livres in provisions, merchandise, horses, or oxen, as should be determined by the agents of the French republic.

The attention of Napoleon was now drawn to another quarter. During these transactions, and whilst he was engaged in his expedition to Leghorn, Wurmser had been industriously employed in collecting the wrecks of the Austrian army in the Tyrol, and had received powerful reinforcements.

After the engagement of Borghetto, the Imperialists retreated to the mountains, with an intent to dispute the passes of the Tyrol. They had drawn lines from the head of the lake of Garda to the Adige, and fortified them with
infinite

infinite labour. Massena directed General Joubert to attack the Imperialists by the Bochetta di Campion, while the chief of battalion, Marchand, turned the enemy by the right. The French climbed up the steep and rugged rocks, killed 100 men, and took 200 prisoners, with 400 tents, and all the baggage. During this, the chief of battalion, Recco, turned the enemy by the left, and, having carried the important post of Belona, killed 300 men, and took 70 prisoners; in consequence of this, the Austrians abandoned their entrenchments. Such was the issue of the first battle that took place between the two armies since the new general had assumed the command.

Some days after the attack of the Austrian entrenchments, insurrections appeared in the Romagna. General Augereau ordered a great body of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to set out, with cannon and waggons amply supplied. A numerous phalanx, presented themselves, and, on the morning of the 6th, were attacked by a column of the republican troops at two points, the one on the side of Imola, and the other on the side of Argenta. The defence was terrible and obstinate; but, after an engagement of three hours, disorder was effected amongst the insurgents, and part were cut to pieces, and part saved themselves by flight. The town of Lugo was afterwards surrounded, and delivered up, for three hours, to be pillaged by the troops. All was devastation, and every individual found in arms was put to death. The army returned with an immense booty; and Bologna exhibited the spectacle of one of the richest fairs that had been witnessed for many years, the plunder being exposed there for sale.

General Augereau, on his return, circulated an energetic proclamation: he declared, that every person, who should not deliver up his arms within twenty-four hours, should be shot. Every town or village, in which a Frenchman was assassinated, should be burned; that an inhabitant, convicted of firing on a Frenchman, should be shot, and his house burned; if a village armed, it was to be reduced to ashes; all assemblages, with or without arms, were strictly prohibited, and every leader of revolt was to be immediately put to death.

The siege of Mantua was now hotly pressed forward:
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the garrison made a most gallant resistance. About 4000 men, on the 16th of July, sallied from two of the gates, and drove in all the advanced posts of the French, and afterwards retreated, without much loss, into the city. On the 18th, at eleven at night, General Serrurier ordered General Murat and Adjutant-General Vignole, with 2000 men, to attack the right of the Austrian entrenched camp; while General D'Allemagne, at the head of a strong column, attacked the left. Andreossi, chief of battalion of artillery, with five gun-boats, gave a false alarm to the enemy, and, by attracting a great part of their fire, enabled the Generals D'Allemagne and Murat to carry disorder into the enemy's ranks. During this, Chasseloup, chief of brigade of engineers, within 80 toises of the town, and under a fire of grape-shot from the ramparts, directed the opening of the trenches. At the same instant, the batteries of St. George, Pradella, and La Favorite, began to play against the fortress: the two first mounted six pieces of cannon, of large calibre, for firing red-hot balls, and six large mortars; and the last, intended to break off all the communication between the town and citadel, consisted of eight pieces of heavy artillery. Soon after the batteries opened, several parts of the town were on fire; and the Custom-House, the palace of Colloredo, and several convents, were reduced to ashes. At day-break, when the trenches were but imperfectly traced, the Austrians, collecting a part of their forces, made a sally, under cover of a dreadful fire from the ramparts; but the republicans, concealed in ravines, posted behind banks, and occupying every hollow which could afford them protection from the enemy's fire, waited for them in silence, and annoyed them from their concealed situations: the Imperialists returned within the walls, and the French, in the following night, succeeded in completing their trenches.

General Berthier, by direction of the commander-in-chief, had summoned the governor to surrender, observing, that, as he was attacked on all sides, he could not long be in a condition to defend the town, and that an ill-judged obstinacy would entirely ruin the unfortunate city; the laws of war, therefore, imperiously prescribed to him to surrender it: but if, contrary to expectations, he should persevere in his resistance, he would be held responsible
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for the blood thus uselessly shed, and for the destruction of the place: a conduct which should compel the French General to treat him with all the rigours of war. The Count Canto D'Irles, general commandant, replied, that the laws of honour and of duty compelled him to defend, to the last extremity, the city entrusted to his command.

The Field-Marshal Wurmser, on the 29th, directed a column towards Salo, from which place, and also from Brescia, he succeeded in dislodging the French; whilst another division of his army forced their post at La Corona, and, passing between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, compelled the French army to evacuate Verona, and also to raise the siege of Mantua. By these successes the Austrians gained an immense quantity of artillery and stores, which the French left behind them in their flight.

The victories of Wurmser placed the French armies in a very critical situation. On the 1st of August, the whole army advanced, during which the Austrians detached a considerable force to Castigliona, where General Valette had been left with 1800 men to defend that important post, and thereby to keep the division of Wurmser at a distance; but, on the evening of the 2d, Valette was completely defeated, and he escaped with only half his troops to Monte-Chiaro. Napoleon, mortified by the unfortunate issue of this affair, instantly suspended General Valette.

General Wurmser having crossed the Mincio, both armies faced each other on the morning of the 3d. The Imperialists, instead of waiting the attack of the French, surrounded the advanced guard of General Massena, near Castigliona, and took General Pigeon prisoner, with three pieces of flying artillery. The French hoped to penetrate the Austrian line, and the latter extended it for the purpose of surrounding the French: the Imperialists were thrown into disorder, and made their retreat to Salo; but, finding that place in the hands of the French, wandered through the mountains, where many of them were taken. Meantime General Augereau, having marched to Castigliona, took that place, and during the whole day maintained several obstinate actions with the enemy, who fought with great bravery.

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On the 4th, General Despinoy was ordered to penetrate into the Tyrol, by the road of Chiusa. General D'Allemagne, at the head of a battalion of the 11th demi-brigade, advanced to Gavardo, but was compelled to retreat with much loss. General St. Hilaire was sent to Salo, to act in concert with General Guieux, to attack the enemy's division at Gavardo, and free the road leading to the Tyrol; when, after a brisk fire of musquetry, the Imperialists retreated with the loss of some prisoners.

Wurmser collected the remains of his army, and drew up in order of battle, on the plain between the village of Scanello, which supported his right, and La Chiesa, which covered his left. Buonaparte gave orders to concentrate all the columns of the army, and hastened, in person, to Lonado, to ascertain the number of troops he could detach from it; but, on arriving there, a messenger summoned the commandant at Lonado to surrender, which was completely surrounded. The moment was critical; but Napoleon, rightly judging that this was part of the defeated army which was endeavouring to make good its retreat, with the greatest presence of mind, and boldness of conception, immediately told the officer who was sent in with the summons, that he was mistaken in supposing that this was only a small detachment of the French army, for that in fact the main body was there with Buonaparte himself; that it was the General-in-Chief who now spoke to him, and that all he had to do was to return instantly to his General, with a requisition that *he* should instantly surrender, in order to spare the effusion of blood. The Austrian officer returned to his head-quarters; and the commandant, struck with astonishment at the circumstance, requested a parley to settle and arrange the terms of surrender: but Napoleon, aware that delay would unravel the business, insisted upon unconditional surrender, and even gave orders for a detachment of grenadiers and artillery to advance. This decided the affair, and the whole division laid down their arms!

This circumstance, together with several accounts of the rapid assembling of the Austrian corps, determined Napoleon to bring the point to issue, as soon as possible; but, under this determination, he affected to be careful of avoiding an engagement, and even went so far as, ostensibly,

ostensibly, to order a retrograde movement, in the hope that this might induce the advance of the Austrian army. The stratagem succeeded; and, on the 5th of August, the right wing of the French army was actually engaged in turning the Austrian left flank, whilst Wurmser was advancing to attack the main body. No sooner was the manœuvre complete, than Napoleon himself made an attack in front, and at the same time ordered the left to attack the Austrian right, whilst his centre was advancing at the very moment that the French right wing, under Serrurier, had opened a fire upon their rear. Notwithstanding that these masterly manœuvres were sufficient to distract the attention of the Austrian chief, yet his troops behaved with great resolution, maintaining their ground until they had lost nearly 2000 men, when they judged it prudent to retreat; an operation in which they were in some degree unmolested, as the French troops were too fatigued to follow them.

This was the last action of a series of five days hard fighting, in which the Austrians lost not less than 6000 men slain, independent of 12,000 prisoners; to which we may add, nearly 70 pieces of cannon. The losses of the French were, perhaps, equally great; for, being superior in numbers, Buonaparte, who was always regardless of the lives of his troops, was enabled to practise a peculiar species of warfare, which, though bloody, could not fail to be ultimately successful. This was, to bring up in the early part of the day his youngest troops, with whom, joined to threatening movements of his reserve, he was enabled to keep the enemy engaged during the greatest part of the day, until they were fatigued, when advancing his veteran reserve in solid columns, he was sure of carrying destruction through the ranks of an enfeebled enemy.

On the morning of the 6th of August, Augereau and Massena obliged the Austrians to raise the siege of Peschiera, and to abandon the line of the Mincio. On the 7th, Augereau passed the Mincio at Peschiera, while the division of General Serrurier advanced to Verona, and arrived there at ten at night, the very moment the division under General Massena had recovered its former position: the rear guard of the Austrians was still at Verona, the gates of which were shut, and the draw-

bridges raised. The proveditor of the Venetian republic having been summoned to open them, answered, that he could not comply till after the lapse of two hours: Napoleon, therefore, ordered the gates to be burst open with cannon-shot. The French seized all the stores of different kinds in the place, and afterwards resumed their former position, while the Imperialists retreated through the Tyrol. The blockade of Mantua having been raised by Wurmser, its garrison succeeded in destroying the works of the French, and carried into the place 140 pieces of heavy artillery, which the latter had left in their trenches, with provisions for a considerable period.

The Austrians, notwithstanding these defeats, prepared to revenge their disasters. Wurmser again advanced with a considerable force, having his head-quarters at Bassano, and the various divisions of his army cantoned in the Venetian territories, and placing a very strong corps at Alba, on the banks of the Adige. This post was of considerable importance, as it lay in the direct road to Trent, on which route Napoleon intended to advance; and Wurmser, therefore, was careful that the corps should be placed in a good position both on the right and left of the river, at Saravalle, and at Marco. But he was not long enabled to occupy it; for, early in September, the French drove in all the advanced posts, and on the 4th of the month Napoleon himself crossed the Adige in order to attack the post at Marco, which was in consequence evacuated, the troops retreating upon Saravalle; when an action took place in which the Austrians, after a most gallant resistance, were again defeated, and driven from both positions with a very heavy loss, retreating to Roveredo, in which place they hoped to make a stand, but were again driven from it with great slaughter. This was even early in the day; and the distance not being very great, the Austrians retired upon the city of Trent, which they attempted to fortify; but Napoleon's rapidity of movements anticipated this resolution, and he ordered an instant attack.

The resistance was obstinate; but the attack was impetuous, and repeatedly renewed with fresh troops, so that the Austrians were forced to retreat until within a league of the city, after experiencing three
defeats

defeats in the course of one day, and that with an accumulated loss of more than 10,000 slain and prisoners, as well as much artillery, many horses, and the greatest part of their baggage. To maintain Trent, now appeared to Marshal Wurmser to be impracticable; and accordingly, on the evening of this fatal day, he resolved upon the retreat, and it was occupied by Napoleon and his army on the succeeding morning. Yet even then a protracted resistance was still manifested by the Austrians, a considerable corps of whom had posted themselves at the bridge of Lavis, a town not far distant from Trent; but from this they were immediately driven by Buonaparte himself, who forced the bridge and stormed their entrenchments, after which he returned to Trent, where he now found himself absolutely master of an independent principality of the German empire.

Napoleon now turned his steps in pursuit of Wurmser, who had posted himself on the other side of the Brenta at Bassano, protected by various defiles in his front: but even these difficulties were evaded by detaching a corps who crossed the river at some distance from the main point of operations, and thus took the Austrians in the rear. In which attempt they made a bold dash at the small fort of Cavela, in a narrow pass, carrying it by storm; and the other gorge of the defile not being sufficiently wide to admit a ready passage for the retreating Imperialists, these were forced to surrender on the 7th of September, consisting of nearly 4000 men, together with their colours and artillery.

No difficulties now interposed between the two main bodies; so that on the 8th of the month Buonaparte was enabled to make a vigorous attack upon a strong division of the Austrians in front of Bassano, who indeed, protected in some degree by the nature of their position, made an able and obstinate defence for some time, but were at length completely routed; so that Napoleon pushed forward his advanced corps with such rapidity upon Bassano itself, that Wurmser merely made his own escape, carrying with him indeed the military chest, but leaving behind upwards of 5000 men, together with thirty-five pieces of artillery, all his

military stores, and all his baggage, occupying about 200 waggons.

Nothing was now left for Wurmser but to adopt one last alternative, one which he had determined on in the event of his retreat being cut off to the northward; this was to retreat in a southern direction, and to throw himself into Mantua, where he might be able to make a protracted defence until succours should arrive from Germany. All the force that he had been able to preserve after the action did not indeed exceed a few shattered battalions; but at Montebello, on the Verona road, there was still a large division of his army. This he was able to rejoin; and accordingly, on the 9th of September, he passed the Adige in his way to Mantua, the passage of the Brenta being impracticable, as both banks were occupied in force by Buonaparte, who was also pursuing him rapidly. In this pursuit, however, Napoleon seems for once to have been out-generaled; for, having pushed on to a pass where he expected to overtake him, he was disappointed, and adopted another route, in which he is said to have been misled by his guide; so that Wurmser was enabled to reach Cerea, a village between Castagnaro and Governolo. Here, however, the French got before him with a strong division; but Wurmser immediately attacked and defeated them, took many prisoners, and forced his way to Castillero, in spite of another division, which he also overthrew on the same day, on the evening of which he reached Mantua, and immediately threw himself into that fortress.

The Austrians having not only recruited the army of Wurmser, but actually formed a new one under the command of General Alvinzi, compelled the French to retire behind the Adige. By this means they again obtained possession of Trent.

During the early part of November repeated actions ensued, with uncertain success to each party; but on the 15th of that month some very hard fighting took place, previous to the great and decisive battle of Arcola.

Napoleon, having learned that the Imperial army, under Field-Marshal Alvinzi, approached Verona, for the purpose of forming a junction with the column of his army in the Tyrol, defiled along the Adige with the divisions of Augereau and Massena, and, in the night of

of the 14th, threw a bridge of boats across the Ronco, where the French troops passed the river. He was in hopes of arriving in the morning at Villa-Nova, and by that means taking the enemy's park of artillery and magazines, and attacking them in flank and rear: he had directed General Vaubois to watch with his division the point of Rivoli, and keep in check the column of the Austrian right under General Davidovich; the castle and fort of Brescia, and the posts of Verona, Peschiera, and Porte-Legnago, were in a respectable state of defence. The head-quarters of General Alvinzi were at Caldero; but, having got intelligence of the movements of the French, he had sent a regiment of Croats, and some Hungarian regiments, into the village of Arcola, a post extremely strong by its position in the midst of marshes and canals.

Before day-break, the divisions of Massena and Augereau had completed the passage of the Adige, and advanced on the two causeways that traverse an impracticable morass for several miles. The column of the left, commanded by Massena, first encountered and drove in the Austrian advanced posts; while the column under Augereau, after having in like manner compelled their posts to fall back, was stopped at the village of Arcola, now occupied by the Imperial troops, who defended the sides of a dyke, along which it was necessary to pass. A canal, that flanked this dyke on the side of the village, hindered the French from turning it; and, to get possession of it, they had to pass under the enemy's fire, and cross by a small bridge, upon which the Imperialists kept up a terrible discharge from several of the adjacent houses, which they had fortified. The French troops made several efforts to carry the bridge; but they were repulsed in reiterated attacks: it was in vain that their generals, feeling the importance of the moment, precipitated themselves, at the head of the columns, to induce them to pass the little bridge of Arcola; this excess of courage proved only injurious to themselves; for they were almost all wounded, and the Generals Verdier, Bon, Vern, and Lasnes, carried out of the field. Augereau, laying hold of a standard, advanced to the extremity of the bridge, where he remained for several minutes, without producing any effect: it was, however,
absolutely

absolutely necessary to pass this bridge, or take a circuitous route of several leagues, which would have made the whole operations miscarry. Buonaparte, apprised of the difficulties experienced by Augereau, ordered General Guieux to descend the Adige with a corps of 2000 men, and cross the river, under the protection of light artillery, at a ferry two miles below Ronco, and opposite Albaredo: he was then to bear down on the village of Arcola, and turn it; but this march was long, and the day far advanced: it was, however, indispensable to carry Arcola, in order to get on the enemy's rear. Buonaparte, therefore, hastened to the spot; he asked the soldiers, if they still were the conquerors of Lodi? His presence produced an emotion of enthusiasm among the troops, which confirmed him in his determination to risk the passage: he leaped off his horse, and, seizing a standard, rushed forward at the head of the grenadiers towards the bridge, crying, "*Follow your General!*" The column moved forward a moment, and had reached within thirty paces of the bridge, when the terrible fire of the Austrians made it recoil, at the very instant the enemy were on the point of flying. Generals Vignole and Lasnes were wounded, and Muiron, the General's aide-de-camp, was killed. Buonaparte himself was thrown from his horse into a marsh, from whence he extricated himself with difficulty, under the enemy's fire: he mounted again, and the column rallied; but the Imperialists did not advance from their entrenchments, to take advantage of the fortunate moment, as they ought to have done.

The French were obliged to renounce the design of forcing the village in front, and to wait the arrival of General Guieux, who, although he did not reach Arcola till night, succeeded in carrying the village, taking four pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. The Austrian General persevered in his object; and Buonaparte thought it expedient to evacuate the village, on learning that the Imperialists had removed all their baggage and magazines to Vicenza, in order to advance towards Ronco. At day-break, on the 16th, the Austrians attacked the French in every direction. The column of General Massena on the left defeated the enemy, after an obstinate contest, and pursued them to the

the gates of Caldero, taking 1500 prisoners, with six pieces of cannon, and four standards. Augereau's column, in like manner, repulsed the Austrians, but could not recover the village of Arcola, notwithstanding repeated attempts. A judgment may be formed of the firmness displayed on both sides, from the different attacks that happened at this village, where several generals were wounded. The same evening, Buonaparte, at the head of a column, carrying fascines, advanced to the canal on the right of the Adige, with a design to effect a passage, but found it impracticable from the rapidity of the current. With this column, Adjutant-General Vial afterwards traversed the canal with the water up to his neck, but was obliged to return without effecting a diversion of any consequence. In this expedition it was, that Elliot was killed.

In the night the French General ordered bridges to be thrown over the canals and marshes, and a new attack was planned for the day following. General Massena was to advance by the causeway on the left, while Augereau, for the third time, attacked the village; and a third column was to cross the canal, in order to turn the village. Part of the garrison of Porto Legnago, with fifty dragoons, and four pieces of artillery, received orders to make a diversion, by turning the enemy's left. Early in the morning the engagement commenced; the Imperialists, having vigorously attacked the centre, obliged it to fall back, on which Buonaparte drew the 32d from the left, and placed it in ambush in the woods. The moment the Austrians, in impelling back the centre, were on the point of turning the right of the French, General Gardanne, at the head of the 32d, sallied from his ambuscade, and, taking them in flank, made a dreadful carnage. The Austrians' left was supported by the marshes, and kept in check the French right by their superior numbers. Buonaparte ordered Hercules, the officer of his guides, to select twenty-five men of his company, and, advancing half a league along the Adige, turn all the marshes, which supported the Austrian left, and fall afterwards at full gallop on the enemy's backs, at the same time making several trumpets sound. This manœuvre was completely successful. The Austrian infantry gave way, but, although retreating, still made resistance;

resistance; when a small column, of eight or nine hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, whom the general-in-chief had directed to defile through Porto-Legnago, in the rear of the Imperialists, succeeded in putting them to the rout. General Massena, who had returned to the centre, marched straight to the village of Arcola, which he took, and pursued the enemy nearly as far as the village of St. Bonifacio.

In short, this day may almost be considered as decisive of all the field operations, as the Austrians had 8000 men killed and wounded, besides 5000 taken prisoners; whilst their loss of stores was immense. On the part of the French too, particularly in officers, from the nature of the contest, the loss was serious; insomuch that Napoleon himself acknowledged in his dispatches, that he had scarcely a general left fit for duty, in consequence of death and wounds. We may indeed observe, that the greatest praise is due to both parties both for courage and skill; and perhaps, so long was the contest doubtful, nothing but Massena's defeat of the Austrian right, which thus enabled Buonaparte to concentrate his whole force, could have insured him the fortune of the day.

The siege of Mantua was now prosecuted with great vigour, and every exertion was made by the Austrian government to save this important place. Having reinforced General Alvinzi, that officer was enabled, once more, to put his army in motion; and his object was, if he could not compel the French to raise the siege, at least by making a diversion, he might enable the garrison to effect their escape. Napoleon, however, was too vigilant and active not to penetrate into his enemy's design. Having, therefore, left a force sufficient to blockade Mantua, he pushed on for the banks of the Brenta, from whence Alvinzi had already advanced, though in the depth of winter, with an army of about 50,000 men. This army was not indeed composed of veterans; but it was filled with those who had joined him upon a most patriotic principle, as great numbers of the young Austrian nobility had entered it for the purpose of supporting their country, and of proving their loyalty to their sovereign; and Alvinzi thought it practicable, by early movements, to secure his junction with the troops then
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in Mantua, which would have brought the two hostile armies nearly upon an equality. The march of the Austrians was therefore very rapid, particularly as Alvinzi well knew that every thing depended on his reaching Mantua before the reinforcements expected from France could join Buonaparte; indeed, so well conducted was his advance, that a very powerful division of his army had arrived before Legnago on the river Adige, on the 8th of January, where the French army had a post of some strength, sufficient to enable them to support their position through the whole of the day, retiring at night into the town, from whence intelligence was sent to Augereau, who then commanded the whole of the force on the line of the Adige. This general had been for some time expecting reinforcements from Napoleon, but these not having yet arrived, he judged it most prudent to concentrate his force; a prudent measure, as Napoleon at this moment had so much to attend to, that nothing but his extraordinary activity would have enabled him to surmount the surrounding difficulties.

Perhaps Buonaparte was never excelled by any general in the rapidity of movements, both of himself and army, at this moment. His first object was personally to inspect all his posts round Mantua, so as to guard against danger from any sortie of the garrison in his absence; after which he immediately sent off a very powerful reinforcement to the banks of the Adige, and proceeded himself to Verona, where he arrived on the 12th of January, just as the Austrian army in that quarter had made an assault upon the whole of Massena's posts.

On the 13th the Austrians threw a bridge across the river at Auguiari, a league distant from Porto-Legnago, by which bridge their advanced guard passed; and, in the evening of the same day, Buonaparte learned, that the post of La Corona had been attacked by forces so superior in number, that General Joubert was forced to evacuate it, in order to assume a position in front of Rivoli; and that he had executed this movement, in the face of the enemy, with a steadiness, which evinced the desire the troops felt to engage the Imperialists in a place more favourable to the inferiority of their number. The General received intelligence, that the enemy had com-

menced a lively cannonade on the Adige, between Ronco and Porto-Legnago. The forces ranged in front of General Joubert no longer left any uncertainty as to the intentions of the Austrians. It was plain, that Alvinzi wished to penetrate by Rivoli with his principal forces, which exceeded more than double the number of those commanded by Joubert, and in this direction to reach Mantua. Buonaparte instantly formed his resolution; and, having given instructions on the Lower Adige and at Verona, put in motion a part of the division of General Massena. He ordered the troops under the command of General Rey, at Desanzano, to advance in different columns to Rivoli; and, at eight o'clock in the evening, set out in person with all his *etat-major* for that place, which he reached at midnight. The dispositions of General Joubert were no longer necessary after the arrival of these reinforcements, and of General Buonaparte in person, who, having assumed the command, directed Joubert to resume the important position in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, and particularly the post of San Marco, that had been evacuated. This post was the key of the position of the *plateau*, the only point by which the enemy could advance their cavalry and artillery, between the Adige and the lake of Garda.

Napoleon, accompanied by his generals commanding the divisions and his *etat-major*, spent the night in reconnoitring the ground, and the position of the Imperialists, who occupied a formidable line, nearly 20,000 strong, having their right at Caprino, and their left behind San-Marco. Alvinzi had, several days before, formed his plan of attack for the 13th, when he hoped to surround General Joubert's division. This plan he now endeavoured to execute, without entertaining a suspicion of the arrival of the French General in person, or of the reinforcements Joubert had received at the moment the engagement began. The order given to retake the small posts in front of the *plateau* of Rivoli, occasioned, during the whole night, a fire of musquetry between the advanced posts. But the re-capture of the position of San Marco by the French, at five in the morning, produced a general battle; an event which began to give great uneasiness to Alvinzi, as it necessarily retarded, for some hours, his plan of attack.

General

General Joubert, at the head of a part of his column, attacked the Imperialists along the line of the heights of San Marco. The rest of his division occupied the centre of the line, the left of which was to be successively reinforced from the divisions of Massena and General Rey. The 18th demi-brigade received orders to advance by the left of the line of attack, and follow the directions of General Buonaparte, which were, not to spread the troops, but only to extend their flanks. General Joubert having made considerable progress along the heights on the right bank of the Adige towards La Corona, the rest of the line likewise advanced, and obtained some successes: the centre occupied the heights that command the village of St. Martin. The 14th demi-brigade, under Berthier, in the centre, had directions to act according to circumstances. This reserve advanced, having previously detached a battalion to attack St. Martin the moment the left of the French line was losing ground; this movement was the more dangerous, as the troops that followed the Austrians on the heights to the left had lost some advantages. Buonaparte proceeded, in person, to the left; but, in the mean time, the 29th and 85th demi-brigades had fallen back: the battalion of the 14th, which had driven the Imperialists from St. Martin, was repulsed, but kept the enemy in check by its spirited fire from the hedges surrounding the village. The height occupied by this demi-brigade, covered the only opening by which the right, under General Joubert, could retire; and the Imperialists had collected all their forces to bear down on the centre. Buonaparte, feeling the importance of this post, and observing the critical situation in which the troops were placed, being completely turned on their left by a part of the enemy's right, hastened to the place, at the same time ordering the 32d demi-brigade, that had arrived from Verona, to advance immediately, under the command of General Massena: they instantly forced the enemy to retire, and the posts formerly occupied by the 29th and 85th were recovered; the right, which was on the elevated bank, had remarked the momentary disorder of the left, and had fallen back to the height in the centre, and defiled by the passage, covered by the height, occupied by the 14th demi-brigade. General Berthier had dispatched the 2d battalion to favour the

retreat of the troops occupying the hedges of St. Martin, while he, with the 3d, occupied the height in the centre, and, surrounded by the enemy's centre, and a part of their right, maintained its position for several minutes; but the right of the republicans was driven to Rivoli in great disorder.

The battle had now lasted three hours: one of the Austrian columns, which had filed along the Adige, proceeded to the *plateau* of Rivoli, with an intent to carry it, and, in this direction, threatened to turn the right and centre. Buonaparte ordered General Leclerc to charge the Imperialists, if they succeeded in carrying the *plateau*, while Lasalle, chief of squadron, was directed, with a detachment of dragoons, to take in flank the Austrian infantry, who attacked the French centre. At the same instant Joubert sent down some battalions from the heights of San Marco, who precipitated themselves on the *plateau*; and the Imperialists, who had already penetrated to it, were driven into the valley of the Adige, leaving a great number of dead, and part of their artillery. Nearly at the same moment, the Austrian column, which had been some time on its march to turn the French, and cut off their retreat, formed in order of battle behind Rivoli, in the rear of the French, and covered all the heights between the Adige and the Lake of Garda, so that the French line was completely turned, and all communication cut off with Verona and Peschiera: two battalions of the Austrians, confident of success, exclaimed, "*We have them!*" and, proceeding by the valley of the Adige, advanced with fury to carry the entrenchments of Rivoli, but were repulsed in three attacks. Meanwhile, Buonaparte had planted four pieces of light artillery, that cannonaded the right of the Austrian line. The 18th, and some troops of the 75th demi-brigade, under Generals Brune and Mounier, advanced, in three columns; and, attacking the right wing of the Austrian line, that occupied an advantageous height in the rear of the French, in an instant the whole Austrian column, consisting of 4000 men, were taken prisoners.

This ended the general battle, giving victory to the French; but still the dispersed Austrian corps, if again permitted to re-unite, might have been sufficiently strong to

to advance to Mantua, or perhaps to push on for Ferrara, where they might form a junction with the Roman army then advancing. Nay, even their retreat into the Tyrol was an object of too much consequence to be permitted; and Buonaparte, therefore, with his accustomed rapidity in following up the career of victory, immediately determined on sending out different divisions in pursuit of the retiring troops.

The main body of the Austrians, after the battle, took post at Cortona, not far distant from the scene of action, where Alvinzi hoped that he might be enabled to collect great part of his force: to prevent this was, however, the first object of Napoleon's care; and, accordingly, during the night immediately after the battles, he advanced a strong corps, under Joubert, to attack them in front, whilst another strong division was, by a rapid march, taking a sweep to assault them in rear. These combined movements were put in force even at an early hour the next morning, the 15th; and though the Austrians made a gallant defence, yet, overpowered by numbers, they were forced at length to give way; and though some of them were able to make good their retreat into the Tyrol, yet a considerable portion of the corps was obliged to surrender, to the number of 6000, as has been asserted.

Buonaparte had given the direction of the manœuvre to Joubert, whilst he himself, with a strong force, set off in pursuit of General Provera and his division, an officer who had distinguished himself so much in the preceding year by his defence of an old castle into which he had thrown himself. On the present occasion the division under the command of Provera did not exceed 10,000 men, yet with this force he formed the bold resolution of pushing on for Mantua, and had already passed the Adige in spite of a French corps stationed on its banks. In his way, unfortunately, he fell in with Augereau on the 15th, in the morning; but although that General succeeded in cutting off his rear, the judicious Provera actually saved his van and centre by a running fight, and though he lost 14 pieces of cannon, and upwards of 2000 men, he was able to reach the French entrenchments round Mantua, about noon on the day after the great battle. Here he displayed a degree of courage
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and prudence highly honourable: for though his force was not more than 6 or 7000, including cavalry and infantry, with 22 pieces of artillery, and still encumbered with baggage and ammunition, he boldly resolved to cut his way through the blockading army by the suburb of St. George, so as at once to have secured an entrance into Mantua. In this, however, his little force met with a repulse; but the garrison having witnessed his daring attempt, immediately made a sortie in his favour, and attacked the French post of La Favorita on one side, whilst he assaulted it on the other. General Victor instantly pushed on with a considerable French force, and succeeded in repulsing the sortie before a direct communication could be established; for Serrurier having advanced with a reserve between St. George and La Favorita, Provera was detained so long by this unexpected contest, that a junction of the French corps on that side immediately took place, and the Austrian rear being thus attacked, their force was unable to contend against the surrounding enemy, and Provera was obliged to surrender his whole division.

After the fatal days of the 14th, 15th, and 16th of January, the Austrians, wholly incapable of undertaking any thing, or of even preserving the places they held, thought only of saving the wrecks of their army. General Alvinzi secured himself in the defiles of Tyrol; and all the troops between the Adige and the Brenta fell on this last river, and marched towards the Tervisano: they were not immediately followed by the French, who also required some time to recover from the losses and fatigues they had sustained. In two days, however, they began to pursue the Austrians, whose rear-guard they overtook on the 26th of January. They attacked it at Carpedenolo; and, after a very smart engagement, they killed, by their own account, 200 men, and took 900. At the same time General Joubert, marching up the banks of the Adige, followed the Austrians into Tyrol. He attacked their advanced posts at Avio, and made some prisoners, amounting, as he reported, to 400. He continued to advance for some days, and successively took possession of the towns of Torbole, Roveredo, and Trent, as fast as they were evacuated by the Austrians. If we may believe that General, they left in this last town

town 2000 sick or wounded, and lost in their retreat 1800 men taken prisoners.

The Generals Massena and Augereau marched, the first towards Feltre, and the other towards Treviso, and continued, as well as Joubert, to advance till they had arrived before the new defensive position which the Austrians took behind the rivers Adige, Lavis, and Piave. Their line extended from Botzen or Bolzano (the point where the defiles of Tyrol become impenetrable, or at least cannot be turned) to the mouth of the Piave, which falls into the Adriatic Sea, above and near to Venice. They divided their army into three principal bodies, one of which defended Tyrol, and another Friuli, where they placed the greatest number of their forces. The third body stationed between the two first, covered the space inclosed between the sources of the Lavis and the Piave. It was in this position, defended by three rivers, and a chain of almost inaccessible mountains, that the Austrians, obliged to abandon Mantua and Italy to the French, and having no other view than that of covering their hereditary dominions, concentrated their remaining forces, and waited for new ones. Their army was still under the command of Lieutenant-General Alvinzi, whom his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles replaced soon after.

The disasters and retreat of the Austrians deprived them of all hope of preserving Mantua. This place, for which the house of Austria had made such great exertions, and had suffered such considerable losses, was at length obliged to capitulate: its garrison much diminished by the sword, but still more by disease, had been long deprived of common necessities, and reduced to eat horse flesh. Overwhelmed with fatigue, misery, and want, it had borne them all in the hope of preserving to the Emperor a place on which depended his power in Italy. It was reduced to the last extremity, when the Generals Alvinzi and Provera made a last effort for its relief. The event of this expedition reduced Marshal Wurmser to the hard necessity of surrendering a fortress which he had defended during four months with a perseverance and activity worthy of the highest applause. The honourable conduct of this veteran officer secured to him the respect even of his enemies; and the capitulation

tion which they granted him bore testimony to the high estimation with which he had inspired them. It was signed on the 2d of February; the principal articles were—That the garrison, consisting of 18,000 men, should become prisoners of war, but be conducted into the territories of the Emperor, to be there exchanged in preference to all others. That Marshal Wurmser, all the Generals, the officers of the staff, 200 cavalry, and 500 individuals at the choice of Wurmser, should not be prisoners of war, and should return into the Austrian dominions, with six pieces of cannon and their artillerymen; that all the Generals and officers should keep their swords and baggage, and the privates of the infantry retain their knapsacks, and those of the cavalry their cloak-bags. Besides these conditions, Wurmser obtained advantageous terms for the inhabitants of Mantua, and secured to them the exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property and privileges.

Napoleon having no longer any opponents in Italy, resumed the execution of those plans of plunder and dismemberment, which had been concerted either by himself or by the leaders of the French republic. After the defeat of the Generals Alvinzi and Provera, he had hastened to reinforce the troops which he had stationed in the Duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, and had dispatched General Victor thither with orders to penetrate into Romagna. Shortly after, he went himself to take the command of this detachment, in order to give more dispatch and greater success to the expedition. He was preceded by two proclamations: in the first of which, after having enumerated the injuries which the French pretended to have received from the Pope, he declared that the armistice, concluded between his Holiness and the French republic in the month of June preceding, was at an end. The second of these proclamations exhibits so well the style and character of Buonaparte, that we give it entire.

“ The French army is going to enter the territories of the Pope. It will be faithful to the maxims which it professes; it will protect religion and the people. The French soldier carries in one hand the bayonet, sure pledge of victory, and offers with the other to the different towns and villages, peace, protection, and safety: woe be to those

those who shall disdain it! and who, seduced by men of the deepest hypocrisy and villainy, shall wantonly draw down upon their dwellings the horrors of war, and the vengeance of an army which has in the space of six months made prisoners 100,000 of the best troops of the Emperor, taken 400 pieces of cannon, 110 standards, and destroyed five armies.

“ Art. 1. Every village or town in which the tocsin shall be sounded at the approach of the French army, shall be instantly burnt, and the magistrates shot.

“ 2. The parish in which a Frenchman shall be assassinated shall be declared in a state of war; a flying column shall be dispatched thither, hostages shall be taken, and an extraordinary contribution levied.

“ 3. All the Priests, Monks, and ministers of religion, of whatever description, shall be protected and secured in their respective stations, if they conduct themselves according to the principles of the gospel. Should they be the first to transgress them, they will be subjected to military execution, and treated with greater severity than other citizens.”

On the 1st of February, Napoleon made himself master of Imola; and marched the next day to attack Faenza, in front of which the Papal troops were entrenched behind the river Senio. These troops, which had never before been in action, ventured nevertheless to wait for the conquerors of the Austrians, and were desirous of shewing that report had not done justice to them. As soon as the French appeared on the left bank of the Senio, they were cannonaded from the batteries which the troops of the Pope had erected on the opposite bank. Buonaparte brought against them a legion of Italians which he had raised in Lombardy: this body of troops, which, like its opponents, had never been before engaged, but which was supported by the French, attacked in concert with them this little army, which was quickly broken and put to flight. It lost 14 pieces of cannon, 1000 prisoners, and 400 killed or wounded. The French lost only 40 men; such at least was the account of Buonaparte, who also asserted that several priests had been killed in the field of battle.

After this easy victory, the French arrived under the walls of Faenza, the inhabitants of which assembled at

the sound of the tocsin, and flew to arms. Buonaparte forced the gates of the city with cannon; he had not the barbarity to put in execution the threats contained in his proclamation, and did not give up the town to pillage. He contented himself with assembling all the Priests and Monks, whom he harangued, and brought back, as he said, to the *principles of the Gospel*. He thought himself so sure of the effect which his speech had produced upon them, that he dispatched two superiors of religious orders, one to Ravenna, and the other to Cesenna, to prepare the inhabitants for his reception.

After the capture of Faenza, the French advanced into Romagna, and possessed themselves of the towns of Forli and Cesenna, near which runs the famous Rubicon. They pursued their march the following days without meeting with any opposition from the Papal troops, which, being divided into several separate small bodies, were not able to make any effectual resistance. Most of these corps retreated at the approach of the French; and those whom the latter came up with, were either taken or dispersed. After having traversed Romagna, Buonaparte entered into the duchy of Urbino; he met with no farther opposition; advanced into the march of Ancona, and made himself master of the town of that name, where he took 1200 of the Papal troops, and a great quantity of cannon and arms of all sorts, that place being one of the principal arsenals in the Pope's territories. On the 11th, Napoleon sent a detachment to take possession of Loretto, in the hope of finding there the boasted treasure of the Holy Virgin; but care had been taken a few days before, to remove the greatest part of it. The French found nothing there but the statue in wood of the Madonna, some relics, and some valuable articles, worth nearly 100,000 livres (£4000 sterling), which General Berthier estimated nevertheless at a million (£40,000 sterling).

After the taking of Ancona and Loretto, the French continued to advance into the territories of the Church, directing their march to Macerata and Foligno. Their progress, which nothing could stop, there being no probability that the Pope's troops would dispute the passage of the Apennine, filled Rome with the greatest alarms. In the person of Napoleon they saw Brennus and

and Attila. They represented him to themselves arriving in the capital of the Christian world and of the arts, making himself master of its riches, destroying its monuments, and overturning the pontifical throne. All the rich and considerable persons of Rome prepared to quit that city; and his Holiness himself made dispositions for placing his person in safety. All the riches of Rome and Loretto were packed up, and sent to Terracina. At the same time that the Pope took measures to escape the tempest, he neglected nothing to avert it. Foreseeing all the consequences which might result from the arrival of the French at Rome, he thought it right to prevent it by making all the sacrifices which they exacted from him.

Buonaparte, on his side, was not less disposed to terminate his expedition by a treaty. His object was less to advance to Rome, than to excite apprehensions in the Pope of his doing so, and to determine him to agree to the conditions which the French republic chose to prescribe. Buonaparte felt that he could not, without imprudence, penetrate farther into the Papal territories. Whatever victories he had gained over the Austrians, and however weakened they were, it was possible they might attempt to take advantage of his absence, and the distance of a part of his army. In addition to this, he would have been obliged, for the purpose of securing the obedience of a vast country, and a city so populous as Rome, to maintain a considerable body of troops in that place, and would in that case have weakened his army, and have afforded the Austrians the opportunity of attacking it with advantage. If he had left in the dominions of the Church only a small body of men, he would have had reason to apprehend that, their weakness being known, the Pope's troops might assemble, and being supported by a people who were numerous and ill-disposed to the French, might cut off the return of the latter, engaged as they would be in a difficult country, and where every thing was against them. Being unable at any rate to employ more than one month in this expedition, Buonaparte, instead of undertaking an uncertain and dangerous conquest, was right in preferring a treaty, which gave him without risk all the advantages that he could expect from the war. He had, besides, received from Paris instructions conformable to these views, the Courts of Madrid and Naples

having made advances to the Executive Directory in favour of the Pope.

These considerations induced Napoleon to take advantage of the first pacific overture made by his Holiness. Having received from Cardinal Mathei a letter as affecting as it was dexterous, he returned an answer on the 13th of February, and announced to him that he granted his Holiness five days for the purpose of sending him a negotiator provided with full powers to treat for peace. Two days afterwards, he received the following letter from the Pope himself:—

“DEAR SIR—Health and apostolical benediction. Being desirous to terminate in an amicable manner our existing differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics (Cardinal Mathei, who is perfectly known to you, and Mon Signor Galeppi), and two secular persons (the Duke Don Louis Braschi our nephew, and the Marquis Camillo Massimi), who are invested by us with full power to concert with you, to promise and subscribe to such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, binding ourselves by our faith and word to approve and ratify them in special form, that they may be valid and inviolable at all times. Being assured of the sentiments of good-will which you have manifested, we have abstained from any removal from Rome, and by that you will be persuaded how great is our confidence in you. We finish by assuring you of our greatest esteem, and by giving you the paternal apostolical benediction. PIUS VI.

“Given at St. Peter of Rome, the 12th of February 1797, the 22d year of our pontificate.”

This letter, and the arrival of the negotiator, was quickly followed by the conclusion of peace; and Buonaparte returned to the Pope the following answer:—

“MOST HOLY FATHER—I ought to thank your Holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have given yourself the trouble to write to me. The peace between the French republic and your Holiness has been just signed. I congratulate myself on having been able to contribute to your particular repose. I conjure your Holiness to distrust those persons who, at Rome, are sold to the courts which are enemies to France, or
who

who allow themselves to be exclusively guided by those malicious passions which always bring on the ruin of states. All Europe knows the pacific and conciliating virtues of your Holiness. The French republic will, I hope, be always one of the truest friends of Rome. I send my aide-de-camp, chief of brigade, to express to your Holiness the esteem and perfect veneration which I have for your person; and I beseech you to believe the desire which I have to give on every occasion proofs of that respect and veneration with which I have the honour to be your very obedient servant,

“BUONAPARTE, General-in-Chief.
“From the head-quarters at Tolentino,
February 19.”

The articles of peace were nearly the same with those of the armistice concluded in the month of June preceding, of which this treaty might be said to be only a ratification. The principal conditions were—That the Pope should give up irrevocably to France, Avignon, the Comtat Venaissin, the duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, and the legation of Romagna. That he should pay in two months 15,000,000 of French livres over and above the 21,000,000 stipulated in the armistice concluded in the month of June, of which 5,000,000 only had been paid. That the French should remain in possession of the citadel of Ancona till peace should be established on the continent, and of the provinces of Macerata, Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, till the 36,000,000 due from the Pope should be entirely paid. They likewise confirmed the articles which stipulated the gift of the statues, pictures, and precious manuscripts. The French made besides, as Buonaparte wrote word, a good harvest of these in Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the march of Ancona.

Such was the price at which the Pope, who had never declared war against the French, and who had only made it for the purpose of self-defence, was obliged to purchase the preservation of the throne of St. Peter. It cost nearly the third part of the dominions of the Church, and more than one year of his revenues, to satisfy the ambitious views and the rapacity of the French government.

After having acquired by this treaty new pecuniary means for the subsistence of his army, from the chests of
which

which a treasurer named Flachat had just stolen 6,000,000 francs (£250,000 sterling), Napoleon employed himself in laying also under contribution the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and the republic of Venice. In this manner did the French accomplish their purpose of making this campaign at the expence of the neutral powers; and thus did the latter, for the sake of a neutrality which was constantly violated, make greater sacrifices than it would have cost them to defend the entrance of Italy against the French, or to drive them from thence after they had invaded it.

The campaign of 1796 having thus put the whole of Italy in the possession of the French, Napoleon had hardly finished his business with the Pope before his presence was required in other quarters. The house of Austria, which had made so many efforts to retrieve its broken fortunes, was determined to make another trial to recover its lost possessions. That court accordingly re-organized its army, and added powerful reinforcements of veteran troops; the command of which was given to the Archduke Charles, the Emperor's brother.

The Archduke had much to contend against at the opening of the campaign; for, however numerous and well appointed his army was, yet a considerable part of it had been much disheartened by the late affair at Rivoli; so that when he joined the advance, he found it posted with great caution on the northern bank of the river Piava, merely holding that ground whilst waiting for reinforcements. So much reduced was it indeed by the recent losses, that, although the French army of observation was not very numerous, it was sufficiently powerful to prevent the crossing either of the Piava or Lavisio by any Austrian detachments, demonstrations for which purpose were sometimes made both in February and in March 1797.

No sooner did Napoleon hear of the junction of the Archduke's reinforcement of the Austrian army, than he resolved at once to march to the attack before any other expected reinforcements could join; and he therefore divided his whole force into three corps, ordering them to proceed to the banks of the Piava by distant routes. To Massena the command of the first corps was given; and that general effected, on the 10th of March, his passage over the Piava, near Feltri—a movement which forced



The Archduke Charles of Austria



forced the opposite division of the Austrian army to fall back upon Belluno, a town nearer to its source.

Serrurier had the command of another division; and he pushed on also for the Piava, which he crossed two days after Massena, at the town of Arcola; where, however, he met with some resistance from an Austrian corps, but which he defeated. This was done, and followed up with such rapidity, that other small corps of the Austrians, posted to support it, had not time to form a junction; and of course, as they were now in danger of being surrounded by a superior force in the two divisions of Serrurier and Massena, they judged it most prudent to retreat in separate corps. This movement was also become more necessary in consequence of the advance across the river of General Guieux, who, with a large force, had arrived at Conegliano in the evening of the 12th, advancing the next day to Sacali, where the rear-guard of a division of the Austrian army, which had made some shew of resistance for the protection of their corps, was defeated by him with a great loss in prisoners.

All these forward divisions of the French force now pushed on, and were as speedily followed by the remainder under Napoleon himself; so that as early as the 16th of March he had united his whole army on the banks of the river Tagliamento, on the opposite side of which the Archduke Charles had posted his army for the purpose of defending the passage of the river. The position was undoubtedly strong, and it was also well chosen, being the last defence against the advance of the French into an extensive tract of level country, which they might overrun with the greatest facility: it is not therefore surprising that the possession of this river should become an object of the first solicitude to the youthful and rival generals.

By mid-day of the 16th, Napoleon advanced to the attack, heading the centre himself, with the intention of assailing the Austrians in front, whilst his right and left, under the fire of a numerous artillery, should cross on the Austrian flanks, in the hope of attacking and turning them.

The Archduke, aware of the intentions of his opponent, had drawn up his small force with great judgment, having disposed both his cavalry and infantry in such a manner

manner as mutually to defend each other ; but his artillery were few, and totally unequal to the service required : it is not surprising therefore, although the Austrians fought a long time with the greatest steadiness and resolution, that the French should succeed in passing the river on the various points of attack, though exposed, as they formed, to repeated charges from the Archduke's army. In fact, it was owing entirely to the superiority of the French artillery that the Austrians were so completely beaten, notwithstanding all the exertions of their officers, upon whom the loss principally fell, that when once broken they could not be rallied again to any purpose ; so that although the Archduke, guarding against the possibility of defeat, had marked out a most advantageous post at a strong position where he might maintain his ground for the night, even with a broken army, and perhaps renew the combat with some probability of success in the ensuing morning ; yet so disheartened were his troops, that they were unable to withstand a second assault made with unexampled rapidity by Napoleon on the night of the battle, in a most stormy and tempestuous season, so that the rout was so complete as to put the Archduke himself in some danger for his own personal safety.

The events of this day and night were decisive of the campaign, and served as another proof of the judgment of Napoleon in always being the first to attack his adversaries, either in detail, or before the junction of the forces ; whilst at the same time it shewed the rapidity of the tactics of the modern school of war, by the velocity with which an army was moved, and that too in a serviceable state, even with the incumbrances of a train of artillery. It must be observed, however, that the system of warfare which Buonaparte had established, was of a nature that gave him a great superiority over his enemies, with respect to the incumbrances of baggage ; for whilst the Austrians were followed by large trains of baggage waggons, the French had nothing but ammunition tumbrils.

The Piava and Tagliamento now no longer covered the countries to the northward of them from the incursions of Napoleon. The Austrians, two days after the battle of Tagliamento, evacuated Palmanova, although it

it contained an immense quantity of provisions and stores, and retired upon Gradisca, a considerable town on the river Lezonzo, which they occupied on the 19th of March, the French having possessed themselves of Palmanova on the preceding day.

The Archduke now posted his army on the banks of the Lezonzo, determined to make a stand: but Napoleon having moved his troops across the river, a little lower down, got possession of some heights which completely commanded the Austrian post in Gradisca; and that town being cut off from the remainder of the army, the troops stationed within it, which were also the very flower of the Austrian veterans, were obliged to surrender. This corps in Gradisca, amounted to upwards of 3000 men: and so rapidly was the remainder of the retreating army followed up by Napoleon, that, after repeated defeats in detail, on its march in a northern direction from the banks of the Tagliamento to the town of Fonteba, it was only at the latter place, that its shattered remains were able to make a stand.

The capture of Gradisca procured advantages, of which the French General hastened to profit; and he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province of Goritz, with an intent to prepare their minds for the expedition he meditated across their territory.

On the 21st of March the French entered Goritz; the Austrian army having retreated with so much precipitation, that they abandoned four hospitals containing 1500 sick, and all their magazines of provisions and military stores, which were accordingly taken possession of by the French.

In order to put a finishing blow to the Austrian power in this part of Italy, Napoleon had already dispatched a considerable force to take possession of the town of Trieste, which was of great importance to the Emperor, from its being his only sea-port; and this place was occupied, together with the capture of a considerable quantity of property, as early as the 23d of March.

Whilst engaged in these regulations, Napoleon was not unoccupied on other points, as we find that he ordered Massena to advance towards the borders of Carinthia, where he took possession of Tarvis, a place of some importance on the opposite side of the passes of Capo-

ralto; from which passes, and from a strong post near to them, the Austrians had already been driven by General Guieux, who attacked them at that post, Posero, and by this movement actually placed the retreating corps between his own fire and that of Massena.

Important events were now rapidly happening; and the intelligence of these movements having reached Clagenfurth, a town in Carinthia, a large corps of the Imperial army, which was quartered there, made a demonstration in their behalf by an attack upon Massena in his post at Tarvis, who, however, defeated them after a most obstinate battle, totally cutting to pieces one of their most distinguished regiments of cuirasseurs, and taking prisoners three Austrian generals. After this Massena pushed on for La Chiusa, a very strongly fortified position, then occupied by a detachment of the Austrians; but in his way he met that very corps who had already been driven from their post by General Guieux after forcing them through the narrow pass of Caporalto.

A second action now took place, in which the devoted Austrians experienced a most severe loss, one totally decisive of the fate of the campaign; for they had not only an immense number killed, but the French took upwards of 5000 prisoners, including four general officers, together with thirty pieces of artillery, as well as the whole of their baggage, amounting to 400 waggon loads.

The division of Massena had crossed the Italian Alps, and now occupied the defiles of the Noric Alps. The Imperialists had been so imprudent as to entangle in the Noric Alps all their baggage, and part of their army, which were of course taken. The battle at Tarvis was fought above the clouds, on a height which commands an extensive view of Germany and Dalmatia. In several places to which the French line extended, the snow lay three feet deep; and the cavalry, charging on the ice, suffered many accidents.

Whilst these proceedings were taking place in the vicinity of Carinthia, the French column dispatched by Napoleon to compel the submission of the Tyrol, and afterwards join him on the Drave, fulfilled their mission, and traversed, as conquerors, a country, which Austria had always regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of her

her empire. The divisions of General Joubert, Baraguey d'Hilliers, and Delmas, put themselves in motion on the 20th, and surrounded an Austrian corps stationed on the Lavis. After a most obstinate engagement, the French took 4000 prisoners, three pieces of cannon, and two standards, and killed nearly 2000 men, the greater part of whom were Tyrolean chasseurs.

Meanwhile the enemy had fallen back along the right bank of the Adige, and manifested a disposition to maintain themselves in this situation. Upon the 22d General Joubert, with the three divisions under his command, proceeded to Salurn. General Vial made himself master of the bridge of Newmark, and passed the river to prevent the enemy from retreating to Botzen. The firing commenced with great warmth; and the general of division, Dumas, who commanded the cavalry, pushed into the village of Tramin, taking 600 prisoners, with two pieces of cannon. In consequence of this, the wrecks of the Austrian column, under General Laudon, were prevented from reaching Botzen, and obliged to wander in the mountains. Joubert entered the town of Botzen, and, having detached a sufficient force to follow General Laudon, marched directly to Claufen. The Imperialists, availing themselves of the means of defence which the country afforded, had made the best dispositions. The attack was warm and well concerted, and the issue long uncertain. The light infantry clambered up inaccessible rocks; the 11th and 33d demi-brigades of infantry of the line in close column, commanded by General Joubert, in person, surmounted every obstacle; the centre of the Imperialists was penetrated, and obliged to give way, after which the rout became general: in this action the French took 1500 prisoners. General Joubert arrived at Brixen, still in pursuit of the Austrians; while General Dumas, at the head of the cavalry, killed several of their dragoons with his own hand, and received two slight cuts of a sabre, his aid-de-camp being at the same time dangerously wounded.

On entering Carinthia, Napoleon published a proclamation to the inhabitants of the province, purporting, that the French army did not enter their country for the purpose of conquering it, or to effect any change in their religion, manners, or customs; they were the friends of

all nations, and particularly the brave people of Germany. The Directory had sent General Clarke to Vienna, as plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace; but the Imperial court had refused to hearken to them, and had declared, that it did not acknowledge the French republic. General Clarke demanded a passport to go and speak to the Emperor himself; but his ministers dreaded that the moderation of the propositions, which the General was charged to make, would influence his Majesty to conclude a peace. "Thus these ministers," continued the General, "corrupted by English gold, betrayed Germany and their Prince, and acknowledged no other will than that of the perfidious islanders." He knew, he said, "that the inhabitants of Carinthia detested, as much as the French nation, both the English, who were the only gainers by the war, and the Austrian minister, who was sold to them." He invited them not to join in a contest repugnant to their sentiments, and to furnish what provisions the French army might require; declaring that, on his part, he would protect their religion, customs, and property, and not exact any contribution. The imposts, which the inhabitants had been accustomed to pay to the Emperor, would indemnify them for the inevitable losses attending the march of the French army, and for what provisions they might furnish. This insidious proclamation had the desired effect of paving his way for a favourable reception by the inhabitants.

On the 28th, three divisions of Napoleon's army had cleared the passages leading from the Venetian territory into Germany, and encamped at Villach, on the banks of the Drave. General Massena, on the 29th, put himself in motion with his division, and fell in with the Imperial army, at the distance of a league from Clagenfurth, when an engagement ensued, in which the Austrians lost two pieces of cannon, and 200 prisoners. The same evening the French entered Clagenfurth, the capital of Higher and Lower Carinthia, while Prince Charles, and the wrecks of his army, extremely disheartened, were flying before them. On the 1st of April the French advanced guard were between St. Veit and Freisach, and the division of General Bernadotte reached Laubach, the capital of Carniola. Napoleon sent the Polish General Zajouzeck, at the head of a body of cavalry, to follow the

the valley of the Drave, and, after gaining Lienz, effect his junction with General Joubert, at Brixen.

Since the commencement of the campaign, Prince Charles had lost nearly 20,000 men taken prisoners, and was now entirely driven from the Venetian territories, from the Higher and Lower Carniola, Carinthia, the district of Trieste, and the whole of the Tyrolese.

General Joubert, on the 28th of March, attacked the defile of Inspruck. The battalions, newly arrived from the Rhine, attempted to defend it; but, after a short cannonade, Joubert decided the affair, by advancing at the head of the 85th demi-brigade in close column by battalion; when the Imperialists were driven back, leaving 100 killed, 600 prisoners, two pieces of cannon, and all their baggage.

On the 1st of April the division of General Massena, forming an advanced guard, encountered the Imperialists in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark; their rear-guard was driven from all the positions it endeavoured to dispute, and pursued by the French with so much rapidity, that the Archduke was obliged to bring back from his principal line of battle, eight battalions of grenadiers, the same who had taken Kehl, and who now formed the hope of the Austrian army. The 2d light infantry, who had particularly distinguished themselves since their arrival by their courage, without relaxing their movement a single instant, threw themselves on the flanks both of right and left, while General Massena, in order to penetrate the defile, formed in column the grenadiers of the 8th and 32d. The combat was between the flower of the Austrian army and the veteran troops of the army of Italy, and was one of the most furious that had happened during the war. The Imperialists occupied a grand position, crowded with cannon; but it only protracted for a short time the defeat of their rear-guard: their grenadiers were completely routed, leaving the field of battle covered with their dead, and from five to six hundred prisoners. The Austrians defiled during the night, and at day-break the French entered Neumark, their head-quarters being advanced the same day to Freisach. At this place they found 4000 quintals of flour, and a great quantity of brandy and oats; they found about the same quantity of stores at Neumark.

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On the 3d the head-quarters were removed to Schiesling, while the vanguard encountered the rear-guard of the Imperialists in the vicinity of Hundsmark, where the latter wished to quarter for the night. The 2d light infantry still formed the advanced guard of the French; and, after an hour's fighting, the Austrian rear-guard, composed of four regiments from the Rhine, was again put to the route, leaving 600 prisoners, and 300 dead on the field of battle: this advanced guard, that evening, ate the bread, and drank the brandy, prepared for the Austrian army. The loss of the French in these two engagements was very trifling: the only officer killed was the chief of brigade, Carrere, a soldier of steady valour and indefatigable activity. After this, the French occupied Kinttenfeld, Murau, and Judenburg. The Imperialists appearing decided on a precipitate retreat, and resolving not to hazard any more partial actions, Napoleon ordered the division of General Guieux to pursue that of the Austrian General Spork, who endeavoured to effect a junction by the valley of the Muhr, and whose advanced guard had already arrived at Murau; but the prompt arrival of the French at Schiesling had rendered this junction impossible. From this time, the Austrians could make no stand, except in the mountains in the neighbourhood of Vienna.

The victorious career of Napoleon did not indispose him to peace; for, at the time when Vienna itself was seriously threatened by his army, he chose the opportunity of making an offer for that desirable purpose. On the 31st of March he addressed the following letter to the Archduke Charles:—

“ M. GENERAL-IN-CHIEF—“ Brave soldiers make war, but desire peace! Have not hostilities already lasted for six years? Have we not slaughtered men, and committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Europe, which had taken up arms against the French republic, has now laid them down; your nation alone remains: and still blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is now announced, under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still be sacrificed in the prosecution of the contest. At some period we must come to an understanding, since time brings all things

things to a conclusion, and even extinguishes the most inveterate resentments.

“ The Executive Directory of the French Republic expressed to his Imperial Majesty its desire to terminate a contest which desolates the two countries. These pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there then no hope of accommodation? Must we continue to murder each other, in order to promote the interests, or gratify the passions, of a nation far removed from the theatre of war? Are not you, who are so nearly allied, by birth, to the throne, and who are raised above all the despicable passions, which too often influence ministers and governments—are not you ambitious to merit the appellation of the ‘ Benefactor of the Human Race, and the Saviour of Germany?’ Do not imagine, my dear General, that I mean to insinuate, that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms; but, even on the supposition that the chances of war were to become favourable, Germany would not, on that account, suffer the less devastation. With respect to myself, gallant Commander, if the overture which I have now the honour to make you could be the means of sparing the life of a single individual, I should be prouder of the civic crown to which my interference might entitle me, than of the melancholy glory likely to result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, General-in-Chief, with the most profound respect and esteem,

(Signed)

“ BUONAPARTE.”

The Archduke’s reply was as follows :—

“ M. GENERAL—Though I make war, and obey the call of honour and duty, yet I desire, as well as yourself, peace, for the good of the people and for humanity.

“ As, nevertheless, it does not belong to me, in the post in which I am entrusted, to scrutinize or to terminate the quarrels of the belligerent nations; and as I am not invested, on the part of his Majesty the Emperor, with any powers for treating, you will perceive that I cannot enter into any negotiation, and that I must wait for superior orders, on an object of such high importance, not within the sphere of my present functions: but, whatever may be the future chance of the war, or the hopes of peace, I
entreat

entreat you to be persuaded, M. General, of my distinguished esteem and consideration.

“CHARLES, Field-Marshal.”

Two hours after the receipt of this answer, and while the French troops were on their march to Friesach, the Archduke, by one of his aides-de-camp, requested a suspension of arms for four hours; but, as this proposition was made for the purpose of allowing time for his junction with General Spork, Napoleon refused to accede to it, and he immediately advanced his army to Judenburg in Styria; where he was preparing to follow up his successes, when Lieut.-General the Count de Bellegarde, and Major-General Morveltdt wrote him a letter, in which they stated, that his Imperial Majesty had nothing more at heart, than to concur in re-establishing the repose of Europe, and terminating a war that desolated the two nations. In consequence of the overture made by the French General to Prince Charles, the Emperor had now deputed them to learn the General's proposals on a subject of such great importance. Agreeably to their conferences with him, and persuaded of the earnest desire, as well as the intentions, of the two powers to terminate as soon as possible this disastrous war, his Royal Highness desired a suspension of arms for ten days, in order to facilitate the attainment of so desirable an object.

Napoleon observed, in his answer to this application, that, considering the military position of the two armies, a suspension of arms was, in every respect, disadvantageous to the French; but, if it tended to open a road to peace, so much desired, and so beneficial to the two nations, he would consent, without hesitation, to their request. The French republic had frequently manifested to his Majesty her desire to put an end to this sanguinary contest: she still entertained the same sentiments; and he had no doubt, from the conference he had with them, that in a few days peace would be at length re-established between the republic and his Majesty.

Accordingly, an armistice for ten days was agreed upon and concluded on the 7th of April: and this was followed by a treaty of peace, which was signed at Leoben, on the 18th. This treaty gave up to France, the Netherlands, all the Venetian islands south in the Adriatic,

atic, together with their territories in Greece; it further confirmed the republic of Lombardy, or the *Cis-Alpine*, to which it ceded many of the Venetian cities, whilst it confirmed to it also great part of the Papal dominions. To Austria, France gave Istria, Dalmatia, Venice itself with the northern islands of the Adriatic, also a large portion of the Venetian territory on the Terra Firma. France also stipulated that the Emperor should not prosecute any of his subjects for their previous opinions or conduct; and it was further agreed that some of the minor princes should receive indemnifications, and that a congress should be held at Rastadt, by plenipotentiaries from the French republic, and the whole German empire, in order to negotiate a complete Germanic pacification.

Having thus finished his glorious career by a treaty of peace, Napoleon now directed his vengeance against the Venetian government, which he accused of favouring the Austrians, and acting treacherously towards his own troops. "What!" said he, in a letter to the Doge, "did you think I would tamely suffer the massacres excited by the Venetian government? The blood of our brethren in arms," continued he, "shall be avenged; and there is not a French battalion, charged with this mission, which does not feel three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you. The Republic of Venice has returned the blackest perfidy for the generous treatment she has received from France." He concluded with offering peace or war; and informed his Serenity, that if he did not instantly adopt the necessary measures for dispersing the banditi, as he called the persons of whom he complained, and arrest, and deliver up, within twenty-four hours, the persons who, it was said, had assassinated some French soldiers, *war was declared*.

The Senate thought proper to publish a proclamation relative to these complaints. "Their conduct," they said, "during the commotions in Europe, had always been, and still was, so perfectly neutral and friendly towards the belligerent powers, that they did not think it necessary to pay the least attention to the evil-disposed persons, who pretended to question their sincerity: but, as these malignant enemies of the republic had disseminated the vilest slanders against the sincerity of the peace-

able disposition of the Venetian government, the Senate was under the necessity of declaring, that their friendship with France was not in the least altered: the Senate, therefore, entertained no doubt but the French nation would treat these calumnies with the contempt they deserved, and repose that confidence in the republic of Venice which it had merited by its irreproachable conduct."

No satisfaction was offered by the Senate; and, on the 3d of May, Napoleon issued a manifesto from his quarters at Palma-Nova, purporting, that, while the French were engaged in the defiles of Stiria, and far advanced from Italy and the principal establishments of the army, the Venetian government had profited of a religious festival to arm 40,000 peasants, who, being joined by ten regiments of Slavonians, were organized into battalions and sent to different points, for the purpose of intercepting all communication between the army and Lombardy. Military stores, of every description, had been sent from Venice to complete the organization of these corps: his countrymen had been grossly insulted and driven from that city, and offices bestowed on those who had presided at the massacre of Frenchmen. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, had been ordered to take up arms, to second the different corps of the regular troops, and, at last, to commence the new Sicilian vespers; while the Venetian officers carried their audacity so far as to assert, that it belonged to the Lion of St. Mark to verify the proverb, that "Italy is the grave of the French." The priests every where preached a crusade;—and the priests, in the state of Venice, utter only the will of government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, and anonymous letters, had been circulated with profusion through all their territories; but, in a state where the liberty of the press is not tolerated by a government, as much feared as it is secretly detested, authors write, and printers publish, nothing but what is sanctioned by the Senate. He then proceeded to give a detail of the assassinations which had been committed in the towns and in the country. In this mournful list, the most prominent act of atrocity is the massacre of the sick in the hospitals at Verona, where 400 Frenchmen, he said, pierced with a thousand wounds
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from stilettoes, were thrown into the Adige. He concluded with requiring the French minister to leave Venice, and directed the generals of division to treat as enemies the troops of the Venetian government, and trample in the dust the Lion of St. Mark.

Accordingly, the battalions destined to inflict a signal vengeance on Venice began their march; and, in a few days, the whole Terra Firma lay suppliant at the feet of the conqueror. The Veronese were punished with the greatest severity: several thousands of armed peasantry, who presumed to contest the progress of the French divisions, were cut to pieces or dispersed. A body of Slavonians, who had joined them, retired to a large building, or fort, in which were deposited all their powder-waggons, and ammunition. A howitzer was pointed against this building, which was soon blown into the air, and 500 Slavonians literally annihilated! After another bloody engagement, the French detachment reached the walls of Verona, which immediately surrendered.

The Venetian government now became humble and abject: the Doge, having assembled the Senate, it was resolved that the government should suspend all its functions, and that the republic, throwing itself on the mercy of France, should accept a provisional government from the latter: it was also decreed, that the *proveditori*, and other magistrates, of whose conduct the French complained, should be delivered up, in order to be punished. On the 16th of May, a body of French troops took possession of the city, after which a municipality was formed, and every thing modelled according to the democratic *regime*. The ships of war, and the stores in the arsenals, were taken possession of in the name of the French Republic.

Genoa was attacked upon much the same grounds: it was impossible, that that country, considering its vicinity to France, and the presence of the republican army, could escape the influence of that spirit of innovation which had electrified the rest of Europe. The French government pretended, that it had forborne to punish the Genoese nobility for the clandestine aid they afforded to the Imperial army when in their neighbourhood, and for their marked attention to the partisans of Austria.

The greater part of the people of Genoa had imbibed the principles of democratical liberty, and many tumults had happened between them and the adherents of the old government. The establishment of the Cisalpine republic had rendered the disaffected more daring, while some imprudent acts of the state-inquisitors, and the two councils, embroiled them with the French minister, and completed the revolution. This silly government, persuaded of its inability to stem the torrent, sent deputies to Napoleon at Montebello, where a convention was concluded on the 6th of June.

Napoleon, having now terminated his campaigns in Italy, returned to Paris, where he was received with all that distinction and *éclat* which his great services to the republic had justly entitled him to. On his arrival in the French capital he was greeted by the congratulations of every description of persons, in a manner the most flattering. Poets, painters, and sculptors, high and low, whether learned or ignorant, pious or profane, all exercised their ingenuity to display some excellent feature, either of the person or the mind of this extraordinary hero. His great military fame, however, had no doubt created a jealousy in the minds of the French Directory, as to his political views; and it became their policy to find some employment for this active and enterprising chief. They accordingly projected the expedition to Egypt; but, not to alarm the European powers, they had artfully contrived to amuse the world with the idea, that all the preparations which were making for this purpose were intended to invade England. With this view they had assembled a very large force which they denominated the *Army of England*, the command of which they entrusted to Napoleon. After the review, which followed his appointment to this command, Napoleon ordered that army to proceed to the coast of the Channel.

Whilst conjecture was afloat as to the point of destination of the great expedition which was preparing in the French ports, the British ministry believing it was intended for the invasion of Ireland, Napoleon put to sea, from the harbour of Toulon, on board the *L'Orient* of 120 guns, bearing the flag of Admiral Brueyes. The fleet employed in this famous expedition, and which was so soon after

after consigned to destruction by the immortal Nelson, consisted of thirteen sail of the line, besides four frigates, and near 400 transports. On board the fleet was an army of 40,000 men, and a vast number of merchants and adventurers, who, ready to take any road that seemed to lead to fortune, blindly associated their fate with this expedition, without knowing any one fact relative to it, more than that Buonaparte was at its head. There were also a great number of men of science, and learned persons, besides artists and mechanics, all of whom, were capable of contributing to the prosperity of a new colony; and the whole of this, including the sailors, it is supposed, made the whole number engaged in the expedition amount to near 70,000 souls.

The voyage commenced under a fair wind. The frigates led the van; the Admiral, accompanied by the advice boats, followed; and the ships of the line formed the rear: the transports kept in-shore, between the Hieres and the Levant. On the 22d the fleet off St. Fiorenzo steered in an easterly course for Cape Corsica and the island Capraia, the leading division of the fleet was, at five P. M. to the west of Pinosa, where the wind failing, the convoy could make no way. On the 26th, with the van off the mouths of the Bonifacio, the fleet lay-to for the divisions of Ajaccio and Civita Vecchia. No land was in sight on the morning of the 27th; and on the 29th the frigates were ordered to look into Cagliari, and to return to Porto Vecchia, in case of encountering an enemy superior in force.

On the 26th of June the fleet arrived off the island of Goza; and, the same morning, all the ships of war had passed in review under the stern of the Admiral, when a vessel was sent to reconnoitre several ships a-head; and it was found that the division from Civita Vecchia, under Desaix, had, by keeping the Italian coast, passed the Straits of Messina, and got a few days a-head of the fleet on its way to Malta, Cumino, and Cuminetto, which, with Goza and Malta, form the whole territory of the Grand Master. Malta was seen at six o'clock, and two crazy barks came off to sell tobacco. At night the city was in perfect darkness; the Juno frigate was within shot of St. Elmo, and off the port. Signal was made for forming the frigates, and the whole boats were ordered

out at nine o'clock. The ships of war and convoy fired several guns as night signals, on which the only light remaining on the port was extinguished. The Captains went on board the L'Orient for orders; and, however unprincipled such a resolution might be, the fame of its riches had determined Buonaparte to attack and seize the island and its dependencies. On the 9th, Napoleon asked permission to water his fleet; but, as the Grand Master apprehended danger from so formidable an armament, he refused to grant the request: this gave Napoleon an excuse for commencing hostilities.

On the 10th, at four A. M. therefore, a semi-circular line was formed, from the point St. Catharine to a league distance, on the left of the city, completely blockading the port. The Juno was stationed in the centre, off St. Elmo and St. Angelo, while the convoy lay at anchor between Gozo and Cumino. Immediately after this, the Fort St. Catharine fired a shot at the boats employed in landing the division under General Desaix, and the Ecclesiastical standard was hoisted on the fort commanding the city. At the same instant, on the other end of the line, shallows were employed landing the troops and artillery, which carried two advanced posts, after a momentary resistance. The batteries of all the forts now opened their fire on the boats and vessels, which was kept up with vigour till evening. A sortie was attempted by the knights, supported by some of the people from the country. The French troops ascended the first eminence at ten A. M. and, having marched behind the city, drove them in, under the protection of their walls and batteries. Many of the knights fell a sacrifice to their valour, being massacred on their return, in a commotion which had arisen in the city. On the first day the knights were in grand council; provisions of all kinds and ammunition were carried from the city into the forts, and the general bustle and activity announced the most warlike intentions. On the second day only part of the knights wore their uniform; disputes had arisen, and they continued agitated, but inactive.

At day-break on the 11th, a languid fire was maintained; a bark under the Ecclesiastical standard came out of the port, and was conducted to the L'Orient; at eleven, a second, under the flag of truce, brought those knights

knights who, in the interest of the French, chose to abandon Malta: from them it appeared, that the garrison was almost totally unprovided; and at four P. M. there were fewer men than guns on the walls of the fort. It was evident that the citizens and knights had disagreed, the gates of the forts being shut, and all intercourse between them and the city at an end. The General sent his aide-de-camp, Junot, with his ultimatum; a few minutes after, twelve Maltese Commissioners came on board the L'Orient; and on the 12th, at half past eleven, the signal was hoisted, to shew that Malta was in the power of the French. Under a salute of 500 guns from the fleet, the French troops took possession of the forts, thus completing the conquest of the strongest post in the Mediterranean.

Among the orders issued by Buonaparte at Malta, there is one more barbarous than was the Greek in which it is said to have been written; especially when it is considered, that he had only the same right to dictate laws at Malta that a robber may claim after he has broke into the house of a peaceable man, and stolen his property. The Articles alluded to, are as follow:

“ LIBERTY!

“ EQUALITY!

“ ARMY OF ENGLAND.

“ Head-Quarters at Malta, June 13.

“ *Etat Major-General.*

“ *Ordered by the Commander-in-Chief—*

“ Art. 1. No Latin priest shall officiate in any church appropriated to the Greeks.

“ 2. The masses which the Latin priests have been accustomed to say in the Greek churches shall be said in the other Greek churches of the fort.

“ 3. Protection shall be granted to the Jews who may be desirous of establishing their synagogue there.

“ 4. The General Commandant shall thank the Greeks for their good conduct during the siege.

“ 5. All the Greeks of the islands of Malta and Gozo, and those of the departments of Ithaca, Corcyra, and of the Ægean Sea, who shall maintain any connexion whatever with Russia, shall be put to death!

“ 6. All the Greek vessels which sail under Russian colours,

colours, if they fall into the hands of the French, shall be sent to the bottom!

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.

"The General of Division, and Chief of the Staff.

(Signed) "ALEXANDER BERTHIER.

"The General of Division, (Signed) "CHABOT."

On the same day, in a letter, addressed to the Bishop of Malta, the General says--

"I have learnt with sincere pleasure, good M. Bishop, the kind conduct and reception which you have shewn to the French troops. You may assure the people of your diocese, that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall not only be treated with regard, but its ministers especially protected. I know no character more respectable, nor more worthy of veneration, than a priest, who, inspired by the true spirit of the gospel, is persuaded, that his duty ordains him to render unfeigned obedience to the temporal power, to maintain peace, tranquillity, and union, in his diocese. I request you immediately to repair to the town of Malta, and to preserve, by your influence there, harmony and tranquillity among the people. I shall be there myself this evening. I request also, that at my arrival you will introduce to me all the priests, and other chiefs, belonging to Malta and the surrounding villages. Be assured of the desire which I have to prove to you the esteem and consideration which I have for you personally.

"On board the *L'Orient*, June 13."

During the short interval of eight days, Buonaparte took possession of the island of Malta, organized therein a provisional government, victualled the fleet; took in water, and arranged all the military and administrative dispositions: he quitted it on the 19th of June, having entrusted the command to General Vaubois, and appointed Citizen Menard Commissary of Marine.

The wind blew freshly from the north-west. On the 25th of June the armament came within sight of the island of Candia, having laid to best part of the day for the convoy, which had dispersed in a fog. On the 26th the Captain of the *Juno* received orders to make all the sail possible for Alexandria, now sixty leagues distant:
and

and there to learn, from the French consul, whether the expedition had been heard of, and what was the disposition of the inhabitants with regard to the enterprise. This frigate was to be the first vessel to anchor on the African shore, and was ordered to collect the Frenchmen resident in Alexandria, and shelter them from the popular tumult that the arrival of the fleet might excite. After this duty, the Juno was ordered to return to the rendezvous of the fleet, six leagues off Cape Brulé. Every sail was now spread, but there was scarcely a breath of wind during the whole of the 26th, and part of the following day. By noon, however, on the 27th, she was within thirty leagues of Alexandria; the welcome cry of "Land!" was heard from the maintop at four, and at six o'clock it was visible from the deck, extending like a white stripe along the dark edge of the sea, while not a single tree or house interrupted the monotony of the scene. The Juno, steering east by south, weathered Cape Durazo; and at one o'clock in the afternoon a lieutenant was sent on shore, who returned at midnight with the French consul and Dragoman on board, and the frigate set sail to join the fleet.

The fleet having slackened sail to wait for intelligence, the General took advantage of the interval to distribute his general orders among the forces. He had addressed a proclamation to the army immediately on his arrival at Toulon, the tendency and design of which was to preserve the idea of the expedition being about to invade the British dominions: the proclamation was as follows:—

"SOLDIERS!—You form one of the wings of the Army of England: you have been engaged in wars of different descriptions—of mountains, plains, and sieges; you are now to make a maritime war. The Roman legions, which you have sometimes imitated, but not yet equalled, combated Carthage, by turns, on this very sea, and on the plains of Zama. Victory never abandoned them, because they were always brave and patient in enduring fatigue, obedient to their leaders, and united among themselves.

"Soldiers! the eyes of Europe are upon you: you have grand destinies to fulfil, battles to fight, dangers and fatigues to overcome:—you must do even more than

you have yet done, and endure more than you have yet endured, for the prosperity of your native country, the happiness of the human race, and your own glory! Soldiers, sailors, cannoniers, infantry, and cavalry! be all united—be as one man: recollect that, in the day of battle, you will stand in need of each other. Marines! you have been hitherto neglected, now the greatest solicitude of the republic is for you; you will be worthy of the army of which you form a part. The genius of the republic, from her birth the arbiter of Europe, *wishes to be the arbiter of the seas also*, and of countries the most distant.”

The army having thus been deluded into the idea that their destination was the coast of England, it required some dexterity on the part of Napoleon to allay the disappointment of the troops, when they should find the real object of the enterprise. Before, therefore, he disembarked the army, he issued the following proclamation:—

“ *Proclamation of BUONAPARTE, Member of the National Institute, and Commander-in-Chief.*

“ Dated on board L’Orient, June 22.

“ **SOLDIERS!**—You are going to undertake a conquest, the effects of which, upon commerce and civilization, will be incalculable.

“ You will give the English a most sensible blow, which will be followed up with their destruction.

“ We shall have some fatiguing marches—we shall fight several battles—we shall succeed in all our enterprises: the destinies are in our favour.

“ The Mameluke Beys, who favour the English commerce exclusively, who have injured our merchants, and who tyrannize over the unhappy inhabitants of the banks of the Nile, will no longer exist, in a few days after our arrival.

“ The people, among whom you are going to live, are Mahometans: the first article of their faith is, ‘ There is no other God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet.’ Do not contradict them: act with them as you did with the Jews and with the Italians. Treat their Muftis and their Imans with respect, as you did the Rabbies and the Bishops. You must act with the same spirit of toleration towards the ceremonies prescribed by the Alcoran that you

you did to the synagogues and the convents, to the religions of Moses and of Jesus Christ.

“ The Roman legions protected all religions: you will find here customs which differ from those of Europe; you must accustom yourselves to them.

“ The people among whom we are going treat women differently from us; but in every country he who violates them is a monster!

“ Pillage enriches but a very few men; it dishonours us; it destroys our resources; and it renders those people our enemies, whom it is our interest to have for friends.

“ The first city we shall arrive at was built by Alexander; and every step we take we shall meet with objects capable of exciting emulation.

(Signed)

“ BUONAPARTE.”

Napoleon, after much difficulty, having disembarked the army at break of day on the 2d of July, he invested Alexandria, after driving into the town several small detachments of cavalry. On establishing his head-quarters in the city, he issued the following curious proclamation in the Arabic language:—

“ In the name of God, gracious and merciful—There is no God but God; he has no Son or associate in his kingdom.

“ The present moment, which is destined for the punishment of the Beys, has been long anxiously expected. The Beys, coming from the mountains of Georgia and Bajars, have desolated this beautiful country, long insulted and treated with contempt the French nation, and oppressed her merchants in various ways. Buonaparte, the General of the French republic, according to the principles of liberty, is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord of both worlds, has sealed the destruction of the Beys.

“ Inhabitants of Egypt! when the Beys tell you, the French are come to destroy your religion, believe them not: it is an absolute falsehood. Answer those deceivers, that they are only come to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants, and that the French adore the Supreme Being, and honour the Prophet and his holy Koran.

“All men are equal in the eyes of God: understanding, ingenuity, and science, alone make a difference between them; as the Beys, therefore, do not possess any of these qualities, they cannot be worthy to govern the country.

“Yet are they the only possessors of extensive tracts of lands, beautiful female slaves, excellent horses, magnificent palaces! Have they then received an exclusive privilege from the Almighty? if so, let them produce it. But the Supreme Being, who is just and merciful towards all mankind, wills that, in future, none of the inhabitants of Egypt shall be prevented from attaining to the first employments, and the highest honours. The administration, which shall be conducted by persons of intelligence, talents, and foresight, will be productive of happiness and security. The tyranny and avarice of the Beys have laid waste Egypt, which was formerly so populous and well cultivated.

“The French are true Mussulmen! Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism (the Mahometan religion). Afterwards they directed their course to Malta, and drove out the unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen. The French have at all times been the true and sincere friends of the Ottoman emperors, and the enemies of their enemies. May the empire of the Sultan, therefore, be eternal; but may the Beys of Egypt, our opposers, whose insatiable avarice has continually excited disobedience and insubordination, be trodden in the dust, and annihilated!

“Our friendship shall be extended to those of the inhabitants of Egypt who shall join us, as also to those who shall remain in their dwellings, and observe a strict neutrality; and, when they have seen our conduct with their own eyes, hasten to submit to us. But the dreadful punishment of death awaits those who shall take up arms for the Beys, and against us: for them there shall be no deliverance, nor shall any trace of them remain.

“May the Supreme God make the glory of the Sultan of the Ottomans eternal, pour forth his wrath on the Mamelukes, and render glorious the destiny of the Egyptian nation!”

Napoleon

Napoleon, having established himself in Alexandria, made every preparation for following up his conquests, and to secure the possession of Egypt; but, as his conduct could not fail of inspiring the inhabitants with every species of hostility, for the unjust and unprincipled attack he had made upon them, he found it necessary, before he pursued ulterior measures, to soothe them with the most flattering promises, at the same time that he threatened with the severest vengeance all those that were found in hostility against him. His proclamation, on this occasion, is one of the most barefaced productions that ever issued from any commander, and plainly shewed, that he not only set at defiance every principle of morality, but that he must have considered that the people he addressed it to were sunk in the deepest state of ignorance and barbarism. This document is so curious, and so forcibly displays the unparalleled effrontery of Napoleon, that we shall give it a place in these Memoirs.

“ BUONAPARTE, *Member of the National Institute, Commander-in-Chief.*

“ Alexandria, July the 6th Year of the Republic One and Indivisible, the of the Month of Muharrem, the Year of the Hegira 1213.

“ For a long time the Beys, who govern Egypt, have insulted the French nation, and covered her merchants with injuries: the hour of their chastisement is come.

“ For too long a time this rabble of slaves, purchased in Caucasus and in Georgia, has tyrannized over the fairest part of the world; but God, on whom every thing depends, has decreed that their empire shall be no more.

“ People of Egypt! you will be told that I am come to destroy your religion; do not believe it. Reply, that I am come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers; and that I reverence, more than the Mamelukes themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran.

“ Tell them, that all men are equal before God; wisdom, talents, and virtue, are the only things which make a difference between them.

“ Now, what wisdom, what talents, what virtues, have the Mamelukes, that they should boast the exclusive possession of every thing that can render life agreeable?

“ If

“ If Egypt is their farm, let them shew the lease which God has given them of it: but God is just and merciful to the people.

“ All the Egyptians shall be appointed to all the public situations: the most wise, the most intelligent, and the most virtuous, shall govern; and the people shall be happy.

“ There were formerly among you great cities, great canals, and a great commerce. What has destroyed them all? what, but the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes?

“ Cadis! Cheiks! Imans! Tchorbadgis! tell the people that we are the friends of the true Mussulmen. Is it not us who have destroyed the Pope, who said that it was necessary to make war on Mussulmen? Is it not us who have destroyed the knights of Malta, because these madmen believed that it was the good pleasure of God that they should make war on Mussulmen? Is it not us who have been, in all ages, the friends of the Grand Seignior (on whose desires be the blessing of God!) and the enemy of his enemies? and, on the contrary, have not the Mamelukes always revolted against the authority of the Grand Seignior? which they refuse to recognise at this moment.

“ Thrice happy those who shall be with us! they shall prosper in their fortune and their rank: happy those who shall be neutral! they shall have time to know us thoroughly, and they will range themselves on our side.

“ But woe! woe! woe! to those who shall take up arms in favour of the Mamelukes, and combat against us! There shall be no hope for them: they shall all perish!”

Every thing being arranged at Alexandria, Napoleon determined to march towards Cairo. In his progress, however, he had to encounter the Mamelukes, a people highly celebrated amongst the Egyptians for their bravery, though indeed little better than a rabble, when compared with European troops.

On the 12th of July he fell in with the main body of this force, at a spot on the banks of the Nile, from whence with a good glass the Pyramids might be seen; for which reason the skirmish (for it was nothing more) was designated

nated as the battle of the Pyramids. At the earliest dawn the Mamelukes were seen making a general display of their forces, without order or plan, sometimes galloping round the French army, sometimes pacing round it in parties from ten to an hundred. These detached bodies from time to time advanced with great boldness, though with very little judgment, attempting to break in upon the French line; but meeting every where with a resistance which perhaps they did not expect, they spent the whole day in this species of manœuvring, merely keeping the French on the alert, and exposed to the fury of an intensely burning sun. The Mamelukes, unable to make an impression on the French, retreated in the evening, with a trifling loss; and the French army pushed on for Cairo.

Previous to reaching Cairo, Napoleon learned that the two powerful chiefs, Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, were likely to annoy his army greatly. On the 19th Murad Bey, at the head of 6000 Mamelukes, and a host of Arabs and Fellahs, was entrenched at the village of Embaba, waiting for the French; and on the 22d Desaix, whose corps formed the advanced guard, arrived within two miles of the spot. The heat was intense, and the soldiers excessively fatigued, which induced Buonaparte to halt. But the Mamelukes no sooner perceived the army, than they formed upon the plain, in front of his right. An appearance so imposing never yet presented itself to the French; the cavalry of the Mamelukes were covered with resplendent armour. Beyond their left were beheld the celebrated Pyramids, of which the imperishable mass has survived so many empires, and braved for more than thirty centuries the outrages of time! Behind their right was the Nile, the city of Cairo, the hills of Mokattam, and the fields of the ancient Memphis.

When Napoleon had given his last orders, "Go," said he, pointing to the Pyramids, "and think, that, from the heights of those monuments, forty ages survey our conduct." The army, impatient to come to action, was soon ranged in order of battle. Napoleon ordered the line to advance; but the Mamelukes, who till then appeared irresolute, prevented the execution of this movement: they made a feint against the centre, but
rushed

rushed with impetuosity on the divisions of Desaix and Regnier, which formed the right; they intrepidly charged these columns, which, firm and immovable, reserved their fire until the enemy advanced within half musquet-shot. The ill-directed valour of the Mamelukes in vain endeavoured to break through those walls of fire and ramparts of bayonets: their ranks were thinned, a great number of killed and wounded remained on the field, and they soon retired in disorder, without venturing to return the charge.

While the divisions of Generals Desaix and Regnier so successfully repulsed the Mameluke cavalry, the divisions of Bon and Menou, supported by that of Kleber, then under the command of General Dugua, advanced rapidly against the entrenched village of Embaba. Two battalions of the divisions of Bon and Menou were detached, with orders to turn the village, and, in the mean time, to take advantage of a deep ditch that lay in the way, the better to defend themselves from the enemy's cavalry, and to conceal their movements towards the Nile. The divisions, preceded by their flank companies, rapidly advanced. The Mamelukes unsuccessfully attacked the platoons; they unmasked forty pieces of bad artillery, which they discharged upon them; but the divisions rushed forward with such impetuosity that the Mamelukes had not time to re-load their guns. The entrenchments were carried by the bayonet; and the camp, as well as the village of Embaba, were soon in the possession of the French. Fifteen hundred Mameluke cavalry, and an equal number of Fellahs, whose retreat were cut off by Generals Marmont and Rampon, occupied an intrenched position in the rear of a ditch that communicated with the Nile, and in vain performed prodigies of valour in their defence. They were unwilling to surrender, and none of them escaped the sanguinary fury of the French soldiers; they were all either put to the sword, or drowned in the Nile. Forty pieces of cannon, 400 camels, the baggage, and the stores, fell into the hands of the victors.

Murad Bey, seeing the village of Embaba carried, attended only to his retreat: the divisions of Generals Desaix and Regnier had already compelled his cavalry to fall back. The army pursued the Mamelukes as far

as Gaza, beyond which they continued their flight; and the French, after fighting, or marching and fighting, nineteen hours, occupied a position at Gaza. Never was the superiority of modern European tactics over those of the Orientals, or disciplined courage over ill-directed valour, more conspicuous, or more sensibly felt, than on that day. The Mamelukes were mounted on superb Arabian horses, richly caparisoned; their armour was magnificent, and their purses well stocked with gold. These spoils, in some degree, compensated the soldiers for the excessive fatigue they had undergone. During an interval of fifteen days, their only nourishment consisted of a few vegetables, without bread; the provisions found in the camp, therefore, afforded them a delicious repast.

The division of General Desaix was ordered to take a position in front of Gaza, and on the route of Faium. The division of Menou passed, during the night, a branch of the Nile, and took possession of the isle of Roda. The enemy, in their flight, burned those vessels which could not speedily re-ascend the Nile. The following morning, on the 23d of July, the principal inhabitants of Cairo presented themselves on the banks of the Nile, and offered to deliver up the city to the French: they were accompanied by the Kiaja of the Pacha, Ibrahim Bey, who had abandoned Cairo during the night, having carried off the Pacha with him. Napoleon received them at Gaza: they required protection for the city, and engaged for its submission. He answered, that the wish of the French was to remain in amity with the Egyptian people and the Ottoman Porte; and assured them, that the manners, the customs, and the religion of the country, should be scrupulously respected. They returned to Cairo, accompanied by a detachment under the command of a French officer. The populace took an advantage of the discomfiture and flight of the Mamelukes, and committed some excesses; the mansion of Murad Bey was pillaged and burned.

Napoleon, on the 26th of July, removed his headquarters to Cairo: the divisions of Generals Regnier and Menou were stationed at Old Cairo; the divisions of Bonn and Kleber at Boulac; a corps of observation was placed on the route of Syria; and the division of Desaix was ordered to occupy an entrenched position, about three

leagues in front of Embaba, on the route to Upper Egypt.

In order to reconcile the Egyptians to their new masters, Napoleon, whilst at Cairo, established a form of government, apparently securing the Turkish government in opposition to that of the Beys; and he even went so far as to appoint a divan, or council, consisting of the chief priests and principal people of Cairo, to preserve peace in that city whilst he went in pursuit of Ibrahim, the next in power to Murad Bey, and who was then retreating towards Syria. He overtook him on the borders of Egypt, attacked, and defeated him, taking a considerable part of his baggage, though Ibrahim defended himself valiantly, but was wounded in the action.

Ibrahim indeed escaped with the shattered remnant of his army; but this was only because Napoleon could not venture to follow him to Gaza, whither he retired, in consequence of the extensive desert which lay before him. Lower Egypt, from this period, might be considered as in his possession; yet he was still unpleasantly situated, for his whole fleet of transports, together with several frigates, lay blocked up in Alexandria, by an English squadron, which entirely cut off his communication with France, intercepting completely all hopes of supply or relief from home.

Napoleon now prepared to put some of his ulterior plans in execution; and, in order to facilitate his route to India, by way of Arabia, he addressed a letter to the Shereef or Arabian chief at Mecca, the sacred burial-place of Mahomet, assuring him that he was much concerned for the safety and prosperity of him and his people, that he himself was a devotee to the religion of Mahomet, that every thing was quiet at Cairo and Suez, and that not a single Mameluke oppressor remained in Egypt.

The consequences of the unprincipled invasion of Egypt began now to be powerfully felt by Napoleon. The Turkish government had already declared war against France; and England was preparing an expedition to co-operate in his expulsion from the country: he therefore instantly determined upon action; and, in order that he might not have two attacks to repel, one by sea, and

and the other on the side of Syria, he resolved to march into that country at once, in order to annihilate any force which they might have there to bring against him.

Much military and political skill were displayed by Napoleon in his preparations for the enterprise now in hand; and, having with great judgment provided for the internal tranquillity of Egypt, and for the security of the army left there, against the incursions of the Arabs of the desert, he gave orders in January to transport provisions and stores by sea to the nearest port in Syria, whilst his artillery was embarked on board of three frigates which had orders to cruise off Jaffa, where they were to open a communication with the French army as soon as it should arrive there. Still was it necessary to have extensive modes of conveyance, along with the army on its march, for provisions, even for water, for the light artillery, ammunition, &c.; and for this purpose an immense number of camels and mules were put in requisition at Cairo, and in other parts of the country.

Napoleon now formed his troops into four divisions, giving the command to Kleber, Regnier, Bonn, and Lasnes; whilst the cavalry was commanded by Murat, the artillery by Dommartin, and the engineers by Caffarelli: the whole of which force formed a junction on the 4th of February; when Kleber's and Regnier's divisions pushed on for El Arish, a village of some consequence on the Syrian borders, seated on the river Peneus, and the inhabitants living peaceably under a wise toleration, it not only having several Mahometan mosques, but being also the seat of a Greek archbishop.

This peaceable state was, however, soon put an end to, as General Grange, who commanded the advanced guard of Regnier's division, entered it at the head of his French philanthropists, who, with fixed bayonets, soon drove the irregular troops of its garrison into the fortress; but these retired with such precipitation that 200 of their number were either put to the sword or made prisoners.

This incursion had not been unexpected on the part of the Turks, who had sent a reinforcement of infantry, and a convoy of provisions for the garrison, but who did not arrive until the French had begun the blockade of

the fortress, and the Turkish corps then encamped in sight of the place on a rising ground, which was also covered by a deep ravine.

These were to be immediately attacked by the French; but Kleber then having just arrived with his advanced guard, it was proposed to him by Regnier that they should manœuvre so as to turn the ravine, and surprise the Mameluke camp in the night, the Turkish force opposed to them consisting principally of that people. This attack was successful, and the defeat complete, the whole of the horses, camels, and stores, being taken; thereby forming a most fortunate supply for the invaders, who were soon after joined by Napoleon himself. He had set out from Cairo on the 10th of the month with his *etat major*, and a strong escort, but did not arrive at El Arish before the 17th, having in his march across the desert, encountered great difficulties, not only from bad provisions and want of water, but also from the hostility of the Arabs, who continually harassed him and destroyed several of his troops and a great number of his horses.

Having now assembled his whole army, he found it imprudent to advance until El Arish had surrendered; and, having taken up a besieging position before it with his whole army, he, on the day after his arrival, ordered a cannonade to commence against one of the towers of the fortress in which a breach was soon made, when the motley garrison, consisting of Arnauts, and other rude natives of the Turkish empire, men even without leaders, and unacquainted with the forms or defences of European warfare, were summoned to surrender. To this demand the brave but rude people answered, that they were willing to come out of the fort, with their arms and baggage, as they wished to go to Acre; but this Napoleon would not consent to, though he certainly delayed the assault, under the pretence of wishing to spare the effusion of blood. Yet it was not until the 20th that the place capitulated, upon the general terms of the troops being permitted to retire to Bagdat in Persia, across the great desert. The surrender then took place, and a considerable number of the irregulars, prompted by hopes of plunder, joined the French army.

Napoleon now pushed on with his whole army, and

on the 24th of February first entered Palestine, pointing out to his army, from the village of Kanjouness, the fertile and well-cultivated plains of Gaza, as he had before shewn them the plains of Italy from the Alps.

A prospect of this kind could not indeed be but pleasing to them, as they had already traversed upwards of eighty leagues of a dry and barren desert, surrounded on all sides by a burning sand, except at El Arish, where the prospect was a little diversified by a few insulated spots of verdure, and by a few palm trees in the vicinity of the wells. It was doubly pleasing to them also to find the country in view put on a mountainous appearance, after the dead flat to which they had been accustomed on the sands of Egypt, a prospect which gave better hopes of a fertile and plentiful country.

Hitherto Napoleon had met with little resistance; but now, on approaching the heights of Korsum, which he did on the 24th, he was much annoyed on his flanks by Abdallah Pacha, with a force of 1000 cavalry, and 50,000 Naplousian infantry, according to the French accounts, though we believe that they were by no means so numerous. Abdallah displayed some energy as well as some skill in his manœuvres, as he not only attempted to turn their flanks, but also to entangle them in the mountains; he was repulsed, however, in all his objects, and obliged to fall back upon Gaza.

There indeed he did not venture to make any resistance, but evacuated it in the night; and it was entered by Napoleon on the 25th, who there found a considerable quantity of stores and provisions; whilst the inhabitants, who had gone out to meet him, were treated, according to his account, in the most friendly manner.

At Gaza his stay was not prolonged beyond the time of taking possession of whatever might be useful to his army; and accordingly, four days after the capture, he pushed on for Jaffa, or Joppa, as it is called in Scripture, which being a sea-port, was the place where his frigates, with the heavy artillery, were ordered to wait for him. As Jaffa did not immediately open its gates to him, he determined to commence the formality of a siege, and accordingly ordered trenches to be opened, and batteries to be constructed, which soon, by their fire, produced a practicable breach in the old wall surrounding the place.

place. Yet the garrison were not dismayed; but, amounting, as it is said, to 5000 men, they made two very spirited sorties, in which they killed and wounded many of the besieging army. This exasperated Napoleon, who instantly ordered the breach to be stormed, and the whole garrison to be put to the sword, in hopes thus to strike terror through the whole of Palestine.

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• It has been asserted that, Napoleon having thus carried Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were indeed put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives: yet, three days afterwards, he expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of 3800 prisoners, ordering them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. Napoleon, in person, previously inspected the whole body, with the object of saving those of the towns he was preparing to attack, when the age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janizary attracted his notice, and he asked him sharply "Old man, what did you do here?" The Janizary, undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question, by asking you the same; your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultan; so did I mine." The intrepid frankness of this reply excited universal interest in his favour: Napoleon even smiled. "He is saved," whispered one of the aids-du-camps. "You know not Buonaparte," observed one who had served with him in Italy: "that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say." This opinion was too true: the Janizary was left in the ranks condemned to death, and suffered; for when all the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired, and volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played upon them, whilst Buonaparte, who was now at some distance, observing the scene through a spy-glass, could not restrain his joy when he saw the smoke ascending, but broke out into exclamations of approval. Indeed, says the narrator from whom we quote, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves: for Kleber had remonstrated against it in the most strenuous manner, and the officers of the *etat-major* who commanded the division (for the General of it was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; this, however, Napoleon refused to give, but sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, it is said that the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and indeed it is probable that many languished several days in agony, so much so that several French officers who witnessed it, declared that it was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection,

After the fall of Jaffa, Napoleon, in the month of March, put the French army again in motion, arriving on the 16th at Sabarien, though with some difficulty and labour in clearing the narrow passes of Mount Carmel, through which they were obliged to march in their route to the plains of Acre. At this period Caiffa had been abandoned by the garrison, and taken possession of by Kleber, whilst, on the 17th, Napoleon, with his whole army, had arrived on the banks of the river of Acre, at a distance of little more than a mile from the walls of that fortress. Here, with great rapidity, a bridge was constructed during the night, so that the whole of his army was enabled to pass over it at day-break on the 18th of March.

Napoleon, recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

Another charge against Napoleon at Jaffa we must also mention, as it has already obtained great publicity, which is to be found in Sir Robert Wilson's work, who asserts, that Napoleon, finding his hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name ought to be inscribed in letters of gold, but which for strong reasons he could not well insert, and on his arrival entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and that the destruction of the sick at present in the hospital was the only measure which could be adopted. The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue, and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, representing the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder; but, finding Napoleon persevered, and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation—"Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession, will allow me to become a human butcher: and, General, if such qualities as you insinuate, are necessary to form a great man, I thank God that I do not possess them."

Napoleon, however, was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations; he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who has since made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. Opium at night was distributed in gratifying food; the wretched unsuspecting victims banquetted; and, in a few hours, 580 soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, miserably perished.

The siege of Acre will, to the latest times, be a memorable era in the life of Buonaparte, as it was there that he met with his first repulse. The city itself too is well known in classic and in scriptural lore, by the names of Ptolemais and Accho, afterwards receiving the appellation of St. John d'Acre, from its being the first residence of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem (afterwards knights of Malta) an order founded to defend

Napoleon, as soon as his army was across the river, ordered them to form an encampment upon an eminence close to the breach; and, on the 20th of March, he opened his trenches at the distance of only 300 yards from the body of the place.

In the operations which he had now in view, he was much checked by the capture of his whole flotilla by Sir Sidney Smith, who, in the Tigre line-of-battle ship, had arrived in those seas to co-operate with the other British ships on the coast. This capture was particularly unfortunate to him, as on board of this flotilla were the whole of his heavy guns, ammunition, platforms, and almost all other necessities requisite for a siege.

Notwithstanding this loss, the siege of Acre was prosecuted by Napoleon with great vigour, and on the 30th of the month he had so far succeeded as to effect a breach in the north-east wall of the place, which he immediately attempted to carry by assault. In this, however, he was repulsed, and the ditch filled with his dead; nay, so great was the enthusiasm of the garrison, that they made two very successful sorties, in which they gave severe checks to the besieging army.

Napoleon's engineers had by this time contrived to construct a mine which run under the covered way on the north side of Acre, the object of which was to fill up the ditch close to the breach already formed, and this it became necessary for the garrison to destroy; accordingly, a third sortie took place under the direction and management of the gallant Sir Sidney Smith, and his brave seamen and marines, accompanied

defend the holy city from the insults and attacks of the Saracens at the time of the crusades. It is first mentioned in the Old Testament in the book of Judges, at which time it was attacked, but without success, by the Jewish tribe of Asher, though it afterwards became subject to the Jewish monarchs, then to the Romans, and subsequently to the Saracens and Turks, undergoing many changes in the time of the holy wars.

It is situated close to the sea-shore, with a spacious plain to the north-east, whilst its bay lies to the south: but its harbour was destroyed by Facardino, a chief of the Druses, a nation of religious enthusiasts, who rebelled against the Turks, and, through a mistaken policy, determined to destroy commerce, and filled up the harbour with quantities of large stones, so that, in after ages, the means which were taken to prevent the entrance of the Turkish war galleys, likewise prevented the entrance of all trading ships, which, in consequence, were obliged to anchor in the unsheltered and open roadstead.

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by a corps of 2000 Turks that had come to the defence of the place. The Turks pushed on for the sortie, whilst the English jumped into the unfinished mine, which they entirely destroyed, by tearing down all its supports, and otherwise rendering it useless for its intended purpose.

The French were astonished to meet with such a resistance; but it must in a great measure be imputed to Sir Sidney and his gallant few, who were always the foremost in danger, whilst 2000 artillerymen, Turks and English, kept up a heavy and unceasing fire upon the French from the walls of the fortress.

The supply of artillerymen had but lately arrived from Constantinople, and were under the direction of Colonel Phelippeaux, the friend of Sir Sidney, a gallant emigrant, who served as the chief engineer of the place; and to whose councils, plans, and unwearied exertions in his duty, may, in concert with the English, the successful defence of Acre be justly attributed.

The attention of Napoleon was drawn off from the siege for some time, by a force which had been collected from different quarters. It appears that Djezzar, the Pacha of Acre, had sent his emissaries among the Napolouzians, and to the cities of Sidon, Damascus, and Aleppo, and, with them, considerable sums of money, to induce all the Mussulmen in those parts, who were capable of bearing arms, to rise *en masse*, for the purpose, as expressed in the firmans, of combating the infidels. This measure produced a considerable effect; large bodies of troops were assembled at Damascus, and magazines were establishing at the fort of Tabarie, which was occupied by the Maugrabins.

Napoleon soon learned that this force was preparing to pass the Jordan, in order to join the Arabs and Napolouzians, and to attack him before Acre, at the same time that Djezzar should make a grand sortie, supported by the fire of the English vessels; he was also informed, that some troops had passed the bridge of Jacob on the Jordan. The officer who commanded the advanced posts at Nazareth, sent intelligence that another column had passed the bridge called Jesre-el-Meckanie, and had advanced to Tabarie; that the Arabs appeared in great numbers at the entrance of

the mountains of Naplouze, and that Tabarie and Jenin had received considerable supplies of provisions.

The general of brigade, Junot, was sent to observe their motions. He marched, with a part of the 2d light infantry, three companies of the 19th, consisting of about 350 men, and a detachment of 160 cavalry, drafted from different corps, for the purpose of reconnoitring. At a short distance from Ghasar-Kana, he perceived the enemy, on an eminence near Loubi: he pursued his march, turned the mountain, and found himself surrounded in an adjoining plain, by a body of about 3000 cavalry. The most intrepid of these rushed upon his force, but were soon driven back. General Junot, with his little force, gradually gained the heights near Nazareth, on which route he fought for the space of two leagues.

Napoleon, on receiving intelligence of this engagement, ordered Kleber to set out from the camp before Acre with the remainder of the advanced guard, in order to join Junot at Nazareth. He repaired to Nazareth for a supply of provisions; and, being informed that the enemy had not quitted their position near Loubi, he determined to march against, and to attack them the next day. He had scarcely reached the heights of Sed-jara, a quarter of a league from Loubi, and a league and a half from Kana, when the enemy descended from their elevated position, and rushed into the plain. General Kleber was immediately surrounded by a body of nearly 4000 cavalry, and five or six hundred foot, who prepared to charge him: this he anticipated by attacking the cavalry, and, at the same time, directing a part of his force against the enemy's camp, near Sed-jara, which he carried; the enemy abandoned the field of battle, and retreated in disorder, towards the Jordan, whither he could not pursue them for want of ammunition. The French then returned to the positions of Safarie, and of Nazareth. but were not long suffered to remain quiet, as the hordes lately defeated were joined by an immense body of Samaritans, or Naplouzians. The entire force, according to General Kleber's accounts, was between fifteen and eighteen thousand men; but the exaggerated statements of the inhabitants of the country increased their numbers to forty or fifty thousand. Independent of this,

Napoleon

Napoleon learnt that the country all round was rising to attack the posts which he had stationed in the wilderness; he determined, therefore, that a decisive battle should be fought, with a view of effectually subduing a multitude, who, taking advantage of their numbers, harassed him with a desultory warfare, almost to the verge of his camp.

He left the siege of Acre to the Generals Regnier and Lasnes, and set out from the camp, with the remainder of the cavalry (General Murat having before been ordered to reinforce Kleber with 1000 infantry and a regiment of cavalry), the division of General Bonn, and eight field-pieces; he took a position on the heights of Safarie, where the troops were all night under arms. He marched towards Fouli, through the defiles which branched among the mountains, and arrived at the heights, from whence Fouli and Mount Tabor can be seen; he perceived, at the distance of about three leagues, the division of General Kleber actually engaged with the enemy, whose force appeared to be about 25,000, all cavalry, and surrounding the French troops, who did not exceed 2000. Napoleon formed his force into three squares, one of which was cavalry, and prepared for turning the enemy at a considerable distance, in order to separate them from the camp, cut off their retreat to Jennin, where their magazines were established, and to drive them to the Jordan, where General Murat could successfully, and finally, encounter them. The cavalry, under the command of General Le Turq, with two light field-pieces, were ordered to storm the camp of the Mamelukes, while the infantry advanced against the main body.

General Kleber, on his march from the camp at Safarie, had been led astray by the guides, and retarded by the difficulties of the way and the defiles he had to pass; he was unable to come up with the Mamelukes, until, being informed of his approach by their advanced posts on the heights of Harmon, they had time to make preparations for his reception. General Kleber formed his infantry into two square columns, and occupied some ruins in his front. The enemy stationed the Naplousian infantry, with two small field-pieces, brought by camels, in the village of Fouli; all the cavalry, to the amount of 25,000,

surrounded the army of Kleber, but without success; every effort to dislodge it was defeated by superior skill; the French musquetry and grape-shot did considerable execution.

Napoleon, on arriving within half a league from the scene of action, ordered General Rampon to march directly to the assistance of Kleber's division, and to attack the enemy on the flanks and in the rear. General Vial was ordered to proceed to the mountains of Noures, in order to force the enemy towards the Jordan; and the infantry guides were commanded to direct the course of the remaining troops towards Jenin, so as to intercept their retreat to that quarter. At the moment the columns began to advance in their different directions, an eight-pounder was discharged. General Kleber knowing by this signal of the approach of the General-in-Chief, no longer remained on the defensive, he advanced to the village of Fouli, which he attacked and carried by the bayonet; he then advanced rapidly towards the cavalry, putting all those who resisted his progress to the sword. At the same time Generals Rampon and Vial cut off the retreat of the enemy towards the mountains of Naplouze, and the infantry guides shot such as attempted to escape towards Jenin. Disorder and hesitation prevailed; the enemy saw their retreat to their camp intercepted, they were cut off from their magazines, and surrounded by their adversaries on all sides. At length they determined to seek for refuge in the rear of Mount Tabor: this situation they gained, and retreated, during the night, over the bridge of El-Mekanie; some, in endeavouring to pass at a ford, were drowned in the Jordan.

General Murat had driven the Turks from their position at the bridge of Jacob, surprised the son of the governor of Damascus, carried his camp, killed a great number of men, raised the blockade of Saffet, and pursued the enemy several leagues on the route to Damascus. The column of cavalry, under the order of the Adjutant-General Le Turq, had surprised the camp of the Mamelukes, carried off 500 camels, with their provisions, killed a great number of men, and made 250 prisoners. Whilst the army remained under arms at Mount Tabor, Napoleon resorted to his usual mode of encouraging the troops, by representing those trifling advantages as affairs of the
greatest

greatest consequence. From this point, intelligence of the recent successes were dispatched to the different corps occupying Tyre, Cæsarea, the Cataracts of the Nile, the Pelusian mouths, Alexandria, the posts on the borders of the Red Sea, at the ruins of Kolsum, and at Arsinoe.

The result of this battle was, the discomfiture of 25,000 cavalry, and 10,000 infantry, by 4000 French troops; the capture of all the enemy's magazines in these parts, and their flight to Damascus. By their own accounts their loss exceeded 5000 men; and they were at a loss to conceive how, at the same moment, they could have been defeated on a line extending nine leagues, so little notion had they of combined operations.

Napoleon now returned to Acre, imagining that he had accomplished great objects; but, in reality, he had been merely promoting the views of the British and Turkish commanders.

At liberty now to resume the siege of Acre in full force, Napoleon contented himself with leaving Kleber to guard the passes of the river Jordan, and instantly returned to his former positions, where the operations were carried on with redoubled vigour, and with redoubled vigour opposed, as both parties were now reinforced by fresh arrivals.

Hassan Bey, the Turkish admiral, anchored in the bay of Acre with a fleet of small ships of war, accompanied by transports filled with reinforcements for the garrison: this took place on the 7th of May, and was by that time much wanted, as, on the 28th of the preceding month, the French frigates, under the command of Vice-Admiral Perrin, on board of which were shipped the heavy battering-guns, had arrived at Jaffa, from whence three heavy pieces, twenty-four pounders, together with six eighteens, were immediately sent forward by land.

Napoleon, thus strengthened, now determined to proceed to the most powerful exertions, particularly on the arrival of Hassan Bey, whose succours he wished to anticipate by a most vigorous assault, hoping to obtain possession of Acre before they could be landed.

The assault, therefore, began in the evening of the 7th of May, whilst every means were taken on the part of the

the besieged to repel them, particularly by placing the gun-boats to flank the assault, whilst the musquetry from the walls did great execution. The perseverance of the assailants was, however, in a military point of view, most praiseworthy; and they began to gain ground in spite of the most obstinate resistance, having been lucky enough, by their heavy fire, to batter down the upper part of the north-east tower, whose ruins thus filling the ditch, they were enabled to ascend to the second story of the tower, and there to form a lodgment, hoisting their national flag on the outer angle of the tower, just as day began to dawn on the morning of the 8th of May.

The fire of the garrison was now much slackened, whilst that of the French preserved its full force; and, as the assailants were pretty well under cover by the lodgments they had made, the enfilading fire of the garrison was of less effect. The dawn of day also shewed the temporary traverses thrown up by the French, which, by Napoleon's order, were actually composed, not only of sand-bags, but even of the dead bodies which had fallen in the previous part of the assault, with nothing but the bayonets to be seen, so completely were they under cover. The moment was critical; Napoleon was on the point of advancing with fresh troops upon the jaded garrison; and Hassan Bey's troops, though preparing to land were yet only half way to the shore. Not a moment was to be lost; indeed, the place would have been instantly carried, had not Sir Sidney Smith, with the utmost energy and promptitude, instantly hoisted out all the Tigre's boats, taking on shore with him the greatest part of his own crew and of the other vessels, who, armed principally with pikes, ran up to the breach, in their way to which they were received with the most enthusiastic joy and gratitude by all the Turkish inhabitants, of every sex and age, who at the sight of such a reinforcement began to recover their lost hopes.

The garrison, part of which had left the breach, now instantly returned, when the whole advanced to the spot, then only defended by a small but gallant band of Turks, whose ammunition was spent, and who were therefore reduced to the necessity of throwing down heavy stones upon the heads of the assailants, knocking down the
headmost

headmost upon the steep slope, and thus checking the advance of the others. Such means of annoyance would not, however, have long availed them, for a succession of fresh troops was still advancing; and though the ruins in the breach served as a breast-work for both parties, yet they were now so close that the muzzles of their musquets touched one another, and the spearheads of some of the standards actually locked together.

The Pacha, with cool courage and determination, was sitting quietly at some distance from the spot; where, according to the usual custom of the country, he distributed rewards successively to such as brought him the heads of the fallen Frenchmen, and in the intervals was attending to the supply of musquet cartridges for his troops; but no sooner was information brought him that the English were in breach, than the generous old man ran to the spot, and forcibly pulled many of them down from it, exclaiming, that if any harm should happen to Sir Sidney Smith, or his other English friends, then he should be lost. This amicable contest, as heroic as any which took place in the days of chivalry, and in the time of the Crusades, gave time for a large body of Turks to rush to the breach, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the troops of Hassan Bey, who were now disembarking. Still were there some difficulties in the way of the defenders, difficulties which must have cost the loss of the place, had it not been for the presence of Sir Sidney Smith, whose influence over the mind of Djezzar enabled him to overcome his most obstinate scruples. The fact is, that at this moment the garden of the seraglio was a most important post, as it occupied the *terre plein*, or flat ground in the centre of the rampart, and here the Pacha was unwilling to admit any troops except the Albanian corps which had long been in his service. These, however, had all fallen, with the exception of about 200 men, totally inadequate to the service required, and Sir Sidney, with the utmost promptitude, hastily over-ruled the old man's objections, and instantly introduced the Turkish Chiffich regiment, consisting of upwards of one thousand men, all armed with bayonets, and disciplined according to the European system. The appearance of such a reinforcement gave fresh spirits to the almost despairing garrison; but the Pacha, notwithstanding the

success

success of the manœuvre, still felt some jealousy at the introduction of those strangers into the gardens hitherto consecrated to his own privacy, when Sir Sidney, availing himself of this very circumstance, instantly proposed to the old man to get rid of the objects of his jealousy by opening the gates, and thus enabling them to make a sally, and take the assailants in flank. This was instantly done; orders were given to the Turkish officer commanding, to obtain possession of the third French parallel, or nearest parallel, and the Turks rushed out, but were again driven back into the place with some loss, though the manœuvre was still attended with some advantage, as it obliged the assailants to expose themselves above their parapets, and thereby enable the flankers of the garrison to pour in a most destructive fire, bringing down great numbers of the Frenchmen. The greatest part of the assailant force too was thus drawn from the breach, where the remainder, who had made the lodgment, were immediately either killed or dispersed.

At this period, the groupe of French generals and aids-du-camp, whom a heavy fire of shells from sixty-eight pounders had often dispersed, were now assembled on an artificial mount, called the Mount of Richard Cœur de Lion, where Napoleon was easily distinguishable in the centre of the semicircle. Here his gesticulations were easily seen, and understood to indicate an intention of renewing the assault, whilst the sending off an aid-du-camp to the camp shewed, as was well comprehended by Sir Sidney, that he only waited for a reinforcement for that purpose. Nor was the gallant knight deceived in his conjectures; for, a little before sun-set, a massive column was seen approaching, and advancing to the breach with a solemn step.

The plan now proposed by Djeddar was, that the breach itself should not now be defended, but that a certain number of the assailants should be permitted to enter, and that the garrison, according to the Turkish mode of warfare, should then close with and destroy them. This was adhered to, and of course the French column mounted the breach without opposition, and instantly descended from the rampart into the garden of the seraglio; but there they met with a most unexpected resistance, one indeed, for which they were now in some measure unprepared,

prepared, and of course the advance, consisting of their most resolute and daring troops, were soon sabred—lying, strewed on the ground, headless corpses; for the sabre, with the addition of the dagger in the other hand, now proved more than a match for the bayonet, at close quarters.

Struck with the scene, the rest of the column instantly fled; and Lasnes, who commanded, was wounded, in the very act of encouraging his men to remount the breach, whilst General Rambaud was killed. The whole of this taking place in day-light, it happened that immense crowds of spectators were assembled to witness the contest, on the surrounding hills; and great part of these, it is said, according to the Asiatic custom, only waited to see how it would end, in order that they might then with safety join the victors: but the repulse was so decisive, that their fidelity to their old friends remained unshaken.

Things remained in a quiet posture until the night of the 9th of May; when a fresh sortie was made by the Chifflic regiment, whose Lieutenant-Colonel, Solyman Aga, was determined to recover the honour of his corps, by a punctual and steady fulfilment of the orders which he had before received. This was to get possession of the third parallel of the assailants; and this he now executed with skill and energy; for the promptitude with which it was carried actually enabled a few of his men to push on for the second trench, where, though they were obliged to leave their standards behind them, they were so far successful as to spike up four of the French pieces of artillery.

This was a most important service; for at this very moment Napoleon had directed Kleber's division to prepare for a fresh assault. His service, however, was changed; and, instead of storming the breach in Acre; he was obliged to attempt the recovery of their own works, which was not done until after a contest of several hours, when the Turks retired.

Napoleon, finding that force was no longer of avail, now determined to employ treachery in order to gain possession of the place; and accordingly he dispatched an Arabian dervise into the town, with a flag of truce, and a letter for Djezzar, in which he proposed a cessation of arms in order to bury the dead, whose stench was now

so intolerable that the existence of both parties was at stake: and, in fact, so horrid and so rapid was the infection which had now taken place, that numbers, both Turks and Frenchmen, had fallen victims to it, dying in a state of delirium in a very few hours after its first symptoms.

Supposing that, whilst the chiefs should be occupied in consultation upon this subject, the garrison would be relaxed also in its duty, the wary, but dishonourable chief, ordered his columns to advance to the assault, which was announced by a rapid and heavy fire of shot and shells. He was, however, deservedly disappointed in his expectations; for the vigilant garrison was ready to receive him, and the treacherous assailants only served to increase the number of those whose bones were now whitening the sandy plains of Syria, and this to the eternal disgrace, as energetically observed by Sir Sidney, in his dispatches, of the general who had thus disloyally sacrificed them.

So enraged were the Turks at this horrid and treacherous attempt, that it was with the utmost difficulty Sir Sidney was enabled to preserve the life of the Arabian dervise, who doubtless had been the unconscious instrument of republican duplicity; but at length he succeeded in getting him off on board the *Tigre*, from whence he sent him back to Napoleon. Sir Sidney was not, however, so successful in restraining the Turks from executing their revenge upon their French prisoners; for it is asserted that these were bound, two and two together, and, their heads being first cut off, they were put into sacks and thrown into the sea.

Napoleon now saw that all hopes of success had vanished: in fact, his authority over his troops was rather on the decline, after an unsuccessful siege of sixty days; and he had, therefore, no alternative but a retreat, which actually took place on the night of the 20th of May. This was, indeed, an operation which could not require much preparation, as there was little to carry off with the troops, except their battering artillery, and which was embarked on board of country vessels as soon as the army arrived at Jaffa, in order that the rapidity of their retreat might not be impeded; to which also, they added great part of the wounded.

Napoleon

Napoleon had now occasion for all his resolution and presence of mind, to induce his troops to bear up under their present sufferings, as the retreat was accompanied by every species of distress. His skill in preparing for this retreat was of the very first order; for the great body of his army moved off in deep silence with all their baggage, and as soon as they had crossed the river of Acre, all its bridges were cut down; but, as workmen must be left for that purpose, he appointed a small corps to cover them, with orders not to quit their post until two hours after the main body had crossed over. So well was this conducted, that neither the garrison nor squadron had any suspicion of it, but both kept up a heavy fire during the night, whilst Napoleon was pushing on, and actually arrived at Cantouara the next day, the 21st of May. Here he was obliged to throw a great part of his remaining artillery into the sea, and, at the same time, to embark twenty pieces, with some of his wounded, on board of as many of the country boats as he could procure, in order that they might proceed to Jaffa; and this measure must have been one of the first necessity, for the whole of his retreat, not only thus far, but even the whole track between Acre and Gaza was strewed with the dead bodies of those who had sunk under fatigue, or from the effect of their wounds. Thus ended the memorable siege of Acre; and Napoleon, who had hitherto been considered invincible, now, for the first time, experienced the mortification of a defeat from an enemy which he had always affected to despise.

On the 22d of May, his army arrived at Cæsarea, and from thence it proceeded to Jaffa, where he levied a contribution of 150,000 livres (between six and seven thousand pounds), and afterwards levelled the fortifications with the ground, throwing all the artillery into the sea.

Having completed this work of destruction, Napoleon set off for Gaza, where he arrived on the 31st of May, and immediately ordered the works to be blown up; after which, he laid a fine of 100,000 livres on three of the richest inhabitants of the place.

On the 2d of the month he once more entered the desert, but took care to bring with him an immense quantity of cattle, which had been plundered in every

quarter. He arrived at El Arish on the 3d of the month, and with much ostentation ordered new works to be raised, having left there such part of his plunder as he could not carry across the next desert of twenty two leagues; during which march his army suffered dreadfully from thirst and other privations, though he had the precaution to order them to proceed in different divisions. On his arrival at Cathieh on the 4th of June, he directed the army to halt for refreshment; but he himself, to shew his indefatigability, proceeded to the port of Tineh, to reconnoitre and give orders. Two days after which, Kleber's division marched to Tineh, to embark for Damietta; whilst Napoleon himself, with the remains of the army, marched by land to Cairo, in which city he arrived on the 14th of June.

The Anglo-Turkish forces having succeeded so well in frustrating the views of Napoleon, it was to be expected that they would follow up their successes. Of this he seems to have been aware; for, immediately on his arrival at Cairo, he made such arrangements as should enable him to protect the sea-coast and the Syrian frontier.

The Mamelukes in Upper Egypt had divided their forces: a party had gone to the Oasis of Sehabiar, with the design of joining Ibrahim Bey, who had returned to Gaza, while the other, with Murad Bey, had descended through the Fayum, to gain the Oasis of the Lakes of Natron, in order to form a junction with a body of Arabs assembled in that quarter. This march of Murad Bey, combined with the movements of the Arabs, indicated a design of protecting a descent, either at Aboukir or at the Tower of the Arabs. To prevent this junction was a material point with the French. For this purpose, Napoleon set out from Cairo on the 14th of July, and advanced towards the pyramids of Gizah, where he ordered General Murat to join him. Napoleon, who had designed to halt two or three days at the pyramids, received intelligence from Alexandria, that a Turkish fleet, of 100 sail, had anchored off Aboukir, on the 11th of July, and manifested hostile designs on Alexandria. He immediately moved his main army, and took up a position at Birket, on the 23d of July, fixing his head-quarters at Alexandria; three battalions

battalions of the garrison of which city, he ordered, under General D'Estaing, to reconnoitre the enemy, and also to take a position and see the walls cleared between Alexandria and Aboukir. The whole of the morning of the 24th he employed in inspecting the fortifications of Alexandria, and in preparing every thing for the intended attack; having got information from his spies, that Mustapha, the Turkish Pacha, had landed with all his troops, a great quantity of artillery, and a number of horses, and was then employed in erecting works for his defence. In consequence of this intelligence, Napoleon, in the afternoon of that day, set off from Alexandria with his main army, sending advanced parties in front, and bivouacking for the night; from whence the whole began to move forward at day-break on the morning of the 25th of July, in the direction of Aboukir. At this moment, a French brigadier-general, with two corps of infantry, and an hundred dromedaries, was ordered to take post at Alexandria, behind the body of the army, in order to check the Arabs, and the Mamelukes under Murad Bey (who were every moment expected to arrive to form a junction with the Turkish army), and in short to preserve a communication with the city in case of a reverse; whilst a grand division of the French proceeded to Rosetta, near the entrance of the lake of Madie, so as to be able to cannonade any gun-boats which might attempt, by that quarter, to annoy the flanks of Napoleon's army.

The first line of the Turkish army was in position about half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir; whilst about 100 men occupied a sandy mount, defended on its right towards the sea by entrenchments, and supported by a village at a short distance from it, which was occupied by 1200 men, and four pieces of artillery. The Turkish left was upon a detached sand hill, to the left of the peninsula, and about two-thirds of a mile in front of the first line. The position itself was not a very strong one, nor was there time to make it so; but the Turkish general had judged it prudent to occupy it, in order to cover the walls of Aboukir; at the same time placing some gun-boats so as to protect the space between this position and that of the second line, which was also occupied by 2000 men provided with six pieces of artillery. The second Turkish position was about one-third

third of a mile in the rear of the first village; their centre at a redoubt which they had taken from the French; and their right behind an entrenchment extending from that redoubt to the sea; whilst their left was posted between the redoubt and the sea, on some low sand hills and the shore, and commanded by the fire from the redoubts and gun-boats. In the latter position, there were about 700 men, with 22 pieces of cannon. At some distance behind this redoubt, lay the village and fort of Aboukir, occupied by about 1500 troops; and here were the head-quarters of the Turkish general, whilst the squadron was at anchor in the road about five miles from the shore.

After a march of two hours, the advanced guard of the French army came in sight of that of the Turks, who, on being attacked by the French with the bayonet, immediately retreated towards the villages; in which operation they were cut off by two squadrons of cavalry, and a platoon of mounted guides, who killed or drove into the sea the whole of the body, to the amount of about 200 men, of whom not one escaped.

The same division of the French army then marched upon the village which formed the centre of the second Turkish line, and turned it, whilst another division attacked in front. By this manœuvre the whole second line, including the village, was carried; the French cavalry killing many with their sabres and driving the remainder into the sea. Some, however, still remained to escape into the redoubt which formed the centre of the second position, a post of considerable strength, the redoubt itself being flanked by a ditch of communication, which secured the peninsula on the right, as far as the sea: besides this, another ditch of the same kind stretched along on the left, to a small distance from the redoubt, the intermediate space being occupied by the Turkish army, who were posted on the sand hills, and in the batteries, to the number, according to the French account, of eight or nine thousand men.

The French were now obliged to halt to take breath, and in the mean time Napoleon ordered some pieces of artillery to be planted in the village and along the shore to the left, whilst a fire was opened on the redoubt and on the Turkish right wing; the French cavalry at the
same

same time attacking the Turkish left, which it repeatedly charged with great impetuosity, cutting down, or driving into the sea, all who came in their way.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the French could not penetrate beyond the redoubt, without being exposed to a cross fire from it, and from the gun-boats; but, "hurried on by their bravery" into this terrible defile, they fell back at each charge, whilst the Turks made a stand with fresh forces on the dead bodies of their comrades. Napoleon now sent a reinforcement of infantry to this spot; but in the mean time the Turks made a sally, and the heads of the hostile columns fought body to body. The Turks endeavoured, by the superiority of their bodily strength, to wrest the bayonets from the French; they even slung their musquets behind them, and fought with their sabres and pistols: but a whole French regiment at length reached the entrenchment, yet the fire from the redoubt, which every where flanked the entrenchments into which the Turks again retired, checked the advance of their columns.

The Turks, notwithstanding the dreadful fire from the village, now darted from their entrenchments to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, that they might receive the rewards usual in that service; but another corps of French infantry was dispatched in support of the first, who leaped on the parapet and were soon within the redoubt, whilst another corps of the French rushed forward on the charge.

During the whole of this business, Murat commanded the advanced guard, and was acknowledged to have supported the various movements with great ability and coolness; and he now seized the moment, when the redoubt was attacked, to order a corps of infantry to charge, and to carry all the Turkish positions as far as the ditch of the fort of Aboukir; a movement executed with so much impetuosity, and so opportunely, that at the instant when the redoubt was forced, this last column had already reached its destination, and thus entirely cut off the retreat of the Turks from the fort itself.

Confused and terrified, the Turks now every where met only with the bayonet and death; the cavalry cut them down with their sabres; and they believed that they had now no resource left but to fly into the sea,
into

into which six or seven thousand precipitated themselves in total despair. Mustapha Pacha, the commander-in-chief, was taken prisoner with about 200 men; and it is asserted that 2000 were left on the field of battle: all their tents, baggage, and twenty pieces of artillery, fell into the hands of the French.

The expedition to Egypt having evidently failed in its object, and an host of enemies having appeared against the project of forming for France this beautiful colony, Napoleon clearly perceived that any efforts of his would be inadequate to retain his ground in that country: besides which, the affairs of France at home were, from the mismanagement of the government, in a situation that required some bold effort to rescue it from impending destruction. Actuated by views arising from these circumstances, as well as from the private intelligence of his friends at Paris, Napoleon resolved to desert that army which he had so proudly and ostentatiously led as to the certain conquest of the East. Too many reflections unfavourable to the character of Napoleon arise, to find limits in a work of this nature: they must naturally occur to the minds of our readers. It may be urged, that his desertion of one part of his service to the republic, in order to promote its glory by his efforts in another (leaving out of our contemplation the selfish views and the personal aggrandisements which followed); could not possibly affect his character, or fix any imputation upon the purity of his motives. But his most zealous admirers must admit, that the first duty of an upright character is to keep its word inviolate; and that, if entrusted with the command of a great expedition, he best shews the greatness of his mind by steadily adhering to it in all its reverses, and sharing with it every calamity. Not so with Napoleon: he wanted an excuse to abandon his army, and he found one. He collected a few of his most obsequious followers, and clandestinely quitted Egypt in their company, without intimating or giving the shortest notice of his design.

Having resolved to quit his army, he ordered Admiral Gantlieu to fit the two frigates that lay at Alexandria for sea, and to give information to head-quarters of the first moment when the combined squadrons of England and Turkey should quit their cruising ground,

At six o'clock in the evening of the 18th of August, Napoleon received the welcome intelligence that all was ready; and immediately sent orders to the few who were to accompany him, that they should be in readiness, at midnight, to set off on the tour of Lower Egypt. This was done; and they had particular instructions to meet him on the beach, each with sealed instructions, which were not to be opened until their arrival at the rendezvous. On their proceeding to the spot they there found Napoleon, and immediately embarked on board the two frigates prepared by Gantheaume, which instantly put to sea; leaving nothing for General Kleber, but some sealed orders, and an army filled with rage, despondency, and surprise, when they first became acquainted with the perfidy of their chief, and the horrors of their situation.

Their voyage was much retarded by light and baffling winds; and particularly prolonged by the route adopted, which was close to the African coast, in order to evade the English cruizers: but at length the mountains of Napoleon's native island rose upon his view, and he arrived at Ajaccio; from whence, after a short stay, he pushed off for the coast of France, and landed in Frejus bay, to the north-east of Toulon.

Napoleon, with his companions and suite, landed amidst a vast crowd of people: the moment they touched the shore, they fell down, in imitation of the ancient classic customs, and embraced the ground, which they called the land of liberty. Transports of enthusiastic joy broke out on all sides, and nothing was heard but "*Vive la Republique! Vive Buonaparte!*"

At six o'clock in the evening of that day, he set off with Berthier for Paris, and was every where received with the loudest plaudits in every town upon his route, as well as with illuminations in all the principal places through which he passed.

France, at this period, was hastening very fast to those scenes of anarchy and confusion which had marked the progress of the revolution. Insurrection blazed in the southern and western departments; clubs of the Jacobins were formed in the capital; and General Jourdan had proposed a decree in the Council of Five Hundred, declaring the country in danger: when, in the midst of

this threatening aspect of affairs, Napoleon arrived at Paris. His arrival was welcomed apparently by all parties; for the public knew but little of the state in which he had left his army, and of his manner of deserting it. The Parisians surrounded him; and each seemed more desirous than the other of welcoming his return. His manners appeared more affable than they were before he quitted France; he spoke freely to the people, and shook several soldiers by the hand who had served with him in Italy. His complexion bronzed by the Egyptian suns, and his hair cut short and without powder, gave him an appearance of greater manliness and strength than were observable in him previous to his leaving Europe. He was out of uniform, and wore a grey riding-coat, with a silk scarf over his shoulder suspending a Turkish sabre. He passed along the courts and streets leading to the Luxembourg amidst the acclamations of the populace, and immediately had a private audience of the Directory.

Sieyes, the Director, had long foreseen the consequences which were likely to result from the imbecility of the government, the energy of the factions, and the anarchy of the people; he saw, that, if means were not adopted to render the executive power sufficiently strong to be feared, that it would not be respected. He despised each of his colleagues; and only one of them had his confidence, which was Roger Ducos. Sieyes disclosed to Ducos his intention of calling in the aid of one of the generals, to save the republic and themselves by overthrowing the Directory: he was secretly pleased at that joy of the people, on the arrival of their favourite, which alarmed the other Directors; he welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, disclosed to him his project, and required his aid in its execution. The wile of the ex-priest, and the arts of the ex-chief of the army of Egypt, combined a plan, in which both engaged from individual ambition, without any regard to the interests or intention of the other. Each so well concealed his own design that they duped one another: and very little remained, but to strike the blow, and take the full advantage of its success, which each supposed he should immediately possess himself of in his own way.

A variety of secret conferences were now held, at which
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the Director Sieyes, the Director Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouché, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Napoleon, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present: few others of any consequence were entrusted with the conspiracy; but those who were, managed their confidence with great discretion. They created various rumours; and, among others, a rumour, that a new plan of government was forming for the republic. Thus a change was generally talked of amongst the people, without any one knowing from whence it was to proceed, or when it would be. The public mind was, however, prepared for a change, come whenever it might; and all that seemed necessary to make it to the taste of the Parisians was the destruction of the Directory. A few of the Council of Ancients and the Council of Five Hundred were also in the secret.

Napoleon appeared very little in public; he seemed to court seclusion from the gaze of the curiosity of the idle, and he declined the visits of those who had no real business to transact with him: every body talked of him, but of those who talked very few knew any thing about him. He was busied in attaching to himself men of talents and enterprise, whose interest was to be silent, that their plans might be secure in their operation.

Sieyes and Ducos acted their parts in a very natural way, and in a manner well calculated to lull their brother Directors in security: they prevailed on them to invite General Buonaparte and General Moreau to a public dinner. A grand entertainment was accordingly given, by the Directory and the Councils, to those generals and their friends, in the Temple of Victory. The company consisted of near eight hundred persons, including most of the great public functionaries of the republic. The leading men of the different factions were assembled at this feast, which seemed intended for the purpose of softening their personal dislike by making them social and acquainted with each other. The toast given by the President of the Directory was "Peace!" and that by Buonaparte, "A union of all parties!" Nevertheless, it was evident, that this was a mere dinner of ceremony; the whole company viewed each other with distrust; there was neither mirth nor confidence; and, though the meeting pretended to effect a union of parties, it seemed only to put them further asunder. Napoleon quitted the

room after a few toasts were given; and the whole ceremony did not last three hours.

In the evening of this day Napoleon met his own party in secret, at the house of M. le Mercier, President of the Council of Ancients, to finally determine on those measures which it had been agreed should be adopted, and to assign to each individual the part that he was destined to act, in the conspiracy against the Directory.

The Committee of Inspectors belonging to the Council of Ancients, at five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire (the 9th of November 1799), sent messages to one hundred and fifty members of that body, who had been selected for that purpose by Napoleon, but of whom very few were acquainted with the conspiracy: they were required to meet at eight o'clock in the Thuilleries. When they met, Cornet, Reporter of the Committee, opened the business with a speech, in which he forcibly stated the dangers of the republic, and the designs of the factious; and ended with proposing, that the Assembly, according to the 102d and 103d articles of the Constitution, should adjourn to St. Cloud; that the General Buonaparte should be charged to put the decree into execution; and that, for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the troops in Paris, as well as of the guard of the Assemblies, and the National Guard. This decree was passed by a great majority.

Napoleon immediately appeared at the bar, attended by Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, Macdonald, and others. Being informed by the President of his appointment, he spake as follows:—

“CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES!—The republic was perishing—you knew this, and your decree has saved it. Woe be to those who wish for anarchy, whoever they be! aided by Generals Berthier, Lefebvre, and all my brave companions in arms, I shall arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past for examples to justify the present; for nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in that resembles the present moment.

“Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a republic founded on a just basis, on *true* liberty; on civil liberty, and national representation; and we will have it. We will have it—I swear
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it—I swear it in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades.”

The President replied—

“GENERAL!—The Council of Ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your sincerity, and of your zeal to act. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity.”

Garat, one of the members, requested to be heard; but the President observed, that after the decree which the Council had passed, there could be no discussion, either in Paris or elsewhere, before the next day at noon; and the sitting was dissolved, amid loud cries of “*Long live the Republic!*” “*Long live the Constitution of the Third Year!*”

As soon as the decree of the Council of Ancients had passed, Napoleon marched 10,000 troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to the place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the garden, or within the walls of the castle. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and he harangued his troops in the great court; while three of the Directors, and all the rest of Paris, were completely ignorant of what was going forward, until the publication of his proclamations.

When the Council of Five Hundred assembled, they were filled with distrust and fear, not knowing upon which of their colleagues they were to rely. Their alarms had been occasioned by the decree of the Council of Ancients, and the extraordinary events of the morning. Not knowing the causes from which those occurrences originated, they were fluctuating between the conjecture and expectation which vague and contradictory rumours had excited, when the President, Lucien Buonaparte, entered the hall: eagerness was depicted in most of their countenances whilst he seated himself. Lucien Buonaparte had been chosen their President some days before; and it was only known to a very few of the members, who had assisted in procuring his appointment, that it was a measure effected by the management and intrigue of the new party to assist their designs upon the government.

To Lucien, then, the brother of General Buonaparte,
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every eye was turned. The *proces verbal* was read, and all were eager to speak. The President arose, and read the decree from the Council of Ancients, which removed the Legislative Body to the Palace of St. Cloud. A violent clamour instantly arose: the President declared the sitting dissolved, amidst a strong opposition; and he immediately quitted the hall, with several of the members who were attached to the new order of affairs.

The day after this extraordinary revolution, the castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day-light. In conformity to the decree of the Council of Ancients, that body, and the Council of Five Hundred were to hold their sittings there at noon. By that time, the members had repaired there in great numbers. Every avenue being strictly guarded, the deputies could not pass without shewing their medal; only a few other individuals, who had tickets, were permitted to enter with them. The sittings, which had been appointed for twelve, did not take place till two o'clock, owing to the preparations of the workmen not being finished.

The debates were opened in the Council of Five Hundred, by a speech from Gaudin, proposing a committee of seven members, to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. It was expected that this motion would have been immediately carried; but scarcely had it been suggested, when several members of the Jacobin party darted forward into the tribune, all eager to be heard. The cry of "*Down with Dictators!*" became general: others exclaimed, "*The Constitution or Death! we are not afraid of bayonets, we will die at our post!*" and some proposed that every member should take a fresh oath to preserve the Constitution. The members of the other party were so much thrown off their guard, that the cry of "*Long live the Constitution!*" became general, and the motion for taking the oath was agreed to. This was a great victory for the Jacobins; it gave them time, which was all they wanted. The ceremony of renewing the oath took up two hours; and when this was over, various propositions were offered and discussed amidst great confusion, all tending against the new order of things.

A letter was now brought in, addressed to the Council;
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it was opened by the President, who announced that it came from Barras. This letter, which contained his resignation as Director, gave rise to a violent debate on the question, whether the assembly should proceed to the election of a new one? Much of the confusion arose from the members who were well disposed towards a change of government, but who had come to the Assembly totally ignorant of what was intended by Napoleon. They had been easily induced to listen to the extravagant reports which were circulated by the Jacobins, who produced all the confusion which had arisen.

The danger became imminent, and the prevention of a civil war required that some vigorous measures should be taken to complete the revolution. Napoleon being informed of the tumultuous discussions, became violently agitated. He hastened to the Council of Ancients; and, having left his arms in an antichamber, entered the Assembly, and requested permission to address the sitting. Leave was given; and he instantly delivered the following speech:—

“ REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE!—You are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a soldier and the candour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country; and suspend, I beseech you, your judgments, until I have finished what I have to say.

“ I was living peaceably at Paris when I received your decree, which informed me of your dangers, and I hastened to come to your assistance, with my brother soldiers. Is not the blood which we have shed in battle a sufficient proof of our devoted attachment to the republic, of our pure and disinterested motives? Have they who dare to lift their voices against us given similar pledges? as a reward for our services, they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæsar, a second Cromwell. They speak of a military government, and a conspiracy. Alas! the most dangerous of all conspiracies is that which surrounds us every where, that of the public misery, which continues to increase.

“ It would be sacrilegious to attempt the destruction of a representative government in the age of knowledge
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and liberty. No one but a madman would attempt to ruin the success of a republic over all the royalty of Europe, after having supported it with so much glory and peril as I have done. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason, reigned long enough in our country? have they not committed sufficient ravages? what class has not, in turn, suffered by them? Have not Frenchmen been long enough divided into parties, eager and desirous to oppress each other? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not deceive your expectations.

“ If I had had any personal or ambitious objects in view—if I had wished to crush the liberty of my country—if I had wished to usurp the supreme authority, I should not have obeyed the orders you gave me; I should have had no occasion for the mandate of the Senate. More than once, in extremely favourable circumstances, have I been called to take the reins of government. After our triumphs in Italy, I was invited to it by the desire of the nation, by the request of my comrades, and by that of the soldiers, who have been oppressed in my absence—of the soldiers who are still obliged to carry on a most horrible war in the departments, which wisdom and order had calmed, and which folly and treason have rekindled.

“ The country has not a more zealous defender than myself; I am entirely devoted to the execution of your orders; but it is on you alone that its safety depends—for the Directory is no more. Four of the magistrates who composed it have given in their resignations; dangers press hard; the evil augments: the Minister of Police has just informed me, that in La Vendée several places are already fallen into the hands of the Chouans. The Council of Ancients is invested with great power, but it is also animated by still greater wisdom; consult that alone, consider the near approach of dangers, and prevent anarchy. Let us endeavour to preserve the two objects for which we have made so many sacrifices—liberty and equality. Liberty alone is dear to me, and I never wish to serve any faction or party whatever. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom
and

and your firmness to the force which surrounds me, and I will devote myself to the safety of the republic."

"And of the Constitution!" exclaimed Moreau de l'Yonne.

"The Constitution!" replied Buonaparte, with indignant warmth. "Does it become you to name it? What is it but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and 28th Prairial?—The Constitution! Has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name since the day of its establishment? Who has been, or who can be safe under it? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been indignantly violated.

"To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the republic and liberty of France.

"As soon as these objects be attained, and the dangers of the country shall have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy, whom you may think proper to nominate."

Cornudet here eagerly confirmed the assertions of Buonaparte; "and," said he, "I am acquainted with some *criminal opinions* that are entertained of the General, which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers."

The spectators were ordered to withdraw; and, as soon as the Hall was cleared Napoleon, continued—

"Criminal opinions! I could reveal to you circumstances which would instantly confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that even two of your late magistrates—the Directors Barras and Moulins, themselves, advised me to overturn the government, and put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed these overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered me their services, but I have rejected all their overtures as unworthy the ear of a republican.

“ I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence ; I have always followed the God of War, and Fortune and the God of War are with me. Be not afraid, Representatives of the People ! of criminal plots ; I and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you and the republic.” (*Glancing his eyes towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the Hall.*) “ I appeal, fellow-soldiers,” said he, “ to you—you, before whom the Jacobins desire to make me appear the enemy of liberty—you, grenadiers, whose caps I see, you, soldiers, whose bayonets I have so often directed to the shame and confusion of our enemies, and to their lasting disgrace, and which you have so often employed in the foundation of several republics—I entreat you to turn those dreadful bayonets against my own breast, if ever you behold me abandon the cause of liberty.

“ Representatives of the People ! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to save the country.”

Napoleon now retired.

The Council of Five Hundred were engaged in violent discussion, when Napoleon suddenly entered their Hall, unarmed, and accompanied by a few grenadiers without arms, and who waited within the door. He advanced towards the top of the Hall, and the Council was instantly in motion : “ A General here !” cried they, “ what does Buonaparte want with us ? This is not your place.” Some of the members flew to the tribunes ; others hastened towards Buonaparte, vehemently exclaiming, “ *No dictators ! Down with the Tyrant ! Down with him ! Kill him, kill him !*” He was pushed back and struck at. Several of the Council drew poniards and pistols ; and Arena, a native of Corsica, and one of the deputies, aimed a blow at him with a dagger. Thome, a grenadier, parried it with his arm, and was wounded. By another blow Napoleon was wounded in the cheek.

The President, Lucien Buonaparte, with great difficulty obtained leave to speak : “ The General,” said he, “ has, undoubtedly, no other intention than to acquaint the Council with the present situation of affairs.” Loud clamours and threats prevented his being heard any further ; and the General was so overpowered by the number of those who rushed forward to attack him, that he

was on the point of falling, when General Lefebvre rushed into the Hall with a body of armed grenadiers, who surrounded him, and carried him out.

When the soldiers, by whom Napoleon was rescued, had escorted him to the outside of the Hall, in a few instants he recovered from the fatigue of his late danger. He hastened to the court of the castle, where the troops were drawn up, and instantly addressed them: "Soldiers!" said he, "everybody thought that the Council of Five Hundred would save the country; but instead of that, I have seen only a furious and outrageous mob, ready to destroy me. I have some enemies; Comrades, may I rely on you?"—"Yes, yes," shouted they; "Long live Buonaparte!"

The troops having been addressed by Lucien Buonaparte and General Serrurier, they were ordered to enter the hall of the Council of Five Hundred. The commanding officer exclaimed—"General Buonaparte commands us to clear the hall." The Grenadiers advanced and filled the first half of the hall; the other half was occupied by the deputies who did not retire, and who had crowded round the President's chair. A member, called Talot, said to the soldiers—"What are you, soldiers? You are the guardians of the national representation; and you dare to menace its safety and independence!" The drums now beat, and the voices of the members could not be heard. The grenadiers then brought their musquets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay was exhibited by the tardy deputies; in their haste to escape from the bayonets of the soldiers, they choaked up the windows and doors, and tumbled over one another. The chamber was soon cleared of them, amidst the cries by the soldiers of "*Long live the Republic; Long live Buonaparte!*" and they were received on the outside by the hootings and hisses of the people:

Measures were now taken to prevent the members of both councils from leaving St. Cloud, yet both of them met again the ensuing evening, though of that of Five Hundred not more than two thirds of the members were present. The Council of Five Hundred now passed a resolution—"That the Directory existed no longer; that sixty members should be excluded from that assembly;

and that a Consular Executive Committee, consisting of the Ex-Directors, Sieyes and Ducos, together with General Buonaparte, under the title of Consuls of the French republic, should be provisionally formed, and invested with a full directorial authority."

It was also resolved, that an intermediate committee should be formed, consisting of twenty-five members from each of the two councils, and who should be chosen immediately during that present sitting.

These resolutions were sent to the Council of Ancients; and at one o'clock in the morning they announced their approbation of it. The three Consuls then proceeded to the Council of Five Hundred, in order to be sworn into their new office, when the President thus addressed them:—

"CITIZENS—The greatest people upon earth entrust you with their destinies; within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the distresses of the armies, and peace, all these are entrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal to accept such an important trust and such high functions; but you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies; and, besides, it is well known to the Legislature that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people."

The Consuls having taken their oath to preserve liberty and equality, returned to Paris about four in the morning of the eleventh of November, and entered immediately upon their functions. The seal of the Republic was changed, and the newspapers were stopped at the post-office, and new ones printed, to inform the departments of all that had been transacted. In the evening of the 12th the following address from the Consuls was read through Paris, by torch-light:—

"The Constitution of the Third Year was perishing: it could neither ensure your right nor its own safety. Repeated violations deprived it for ever of the respect of the people; several odious and rapacious factions desolated the republic. France was, at last, on the very brink of a total ruin.

"The patriots have agreed on a plan. Those men who might have been dangerous to you have been discarded; those who may be useful to you, and those who behaved well

well in the national representation, have never abandoned the banners of liberty.

“Frenchmen! the Republic being better settled in that rank of Europe, which she should never have lost, will see the hopes of her citizens accomplished and her glorious destinies fulfilled.

“Take, with us, *the oath of allegiance to the Republic, one and indivisible, grounded on EQUALITY, on LIBERTY and on the REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.*

(Signed) “ROGER DUCOS,
“BUONAPARTE,
“SIEYES.”

In this manner was accomplished a revolution, which placed Buonaparte at the head of thirty millions of people; for although two others were associated with him, yet their power and influence was more nominal than real. This was the first step towards that stupendous elevation, which Napoleon afterwards attained. “He now stood free,” says a popular writer of the day, “in the midst of thirty millions of people: all parties crowded round him; all, weary of the past troubles and countless disorders, expected from him security and happiness. All were full of confidence in the republican hero, who had endeavoured to carry the light of freedom and intellect even into the African deserts! It was such a moment as never fell to the lot of any hero, of any lawgiver, of either the ancient or modern world. Every thing was prepared; the elements of the *best* constitution that ever blest mankind were in readiness, and awaited only the wisely ordaining hand of the great man, who could forget himself for the sake of humanity, and thereby exalt himself above every elevation that humanity ever attained.”

“Whether Buonaparte were guided by his propensity to uncontrouled power, which is so natural to every man of restless activity and resolute spirit, or by a conviction that the French character is not calculated to receive the benefits of a free constitution; certain it is, that he has exerted all his courage, art, and activity, only to lay the basis of his own supremacy.”

Napoleon, now elevated to the first office in the state, made an attempt, in rather an unusual way, to put an end

end to the calamities of war: he addressed a letter to the King of England, in which he says—

“ Called by the wish of the French nation to exercise the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering upon this duty, to address myself *directly* to your Majesty. Must that war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, be eternal? Are there no means left to put an end to it?

“ How is it that the two most enlightened nations of Europe, each more strong and powerful than its safety or independence requires; how is it that they can sacrifice to ideas of empty greatness, the advantages of commerce, interior prosperity, and the happiness of families? How comes it that they do not feel that peace is their first need, as it is their first glory?

“ These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who governs a free nation, and whose sole object is to render that nation happy.

“ Your Majesty will see nothing in this overture, but my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, a second time, to a general pacification, by prompt measures, all in full confidence, and disengaged from those forms, which, however necessary to disguise the dependence of weak states, only mark, in powerful ones, a desire to deceive each other.

“ France and England, by the abuse of their forces, may a long time yet, to the misery of their people, retard the exhaustion of their power; but I venture to say, that the fate of all civilized nations depends upon an end being put to a war which involves the entire world.”

The sincerity of Napoleon, in this step, is very much to be doubted; he found it however necessary, for his own popularity, to make an appearance of pacific inclinations; knowing perfectly well, that the very manner in which he endeavoured to bring about this desired event, would defeat its purpose. Having failed in this attempt, which Napoleon had easily contemplated, he now prepared all the means that France possessed for vigorously prosecuting the war. He decreed, that an army of reserve should immediately be formed, at Dijon, of which he himself intended to take the command. No sooner had this measure been adopted, than a part of the
new

new Consular guard, which *alone* amounted to 36,000 men, formed out of the very flower of the youth of France, received directions to march for Dijon in the latter end of March, in order to join the army of reserve, and the other troops assembled there.

On this important occasion, Napoleon took with him Berthier, then minister at war, appointing Carnot, the Ex-Director, to fill his place *pro tempore*, and also taking along with him Bernadotte, the present Crown Prince of Sweden, as a Lieutenant-General.

Although the campaign in Germany, of the preceding year, had not been unfavourable to the French, yet their affairs in Italy had proved very disastrous; and the fruits of so many former victories, were likely to be lost to them. It was to this quarter, that Napoleon now directed his attention; whilst the whole world were held in anxious suspense as to his future military movements.

Previous to the important and decisive battle of Marengo, it is necessary to trace the positions of the contending armies. The Austrian right wing of the Italian army was flanked by that of Switzerland, in the upper valley of the Tesino, whilst Davidovich occupied Bellenzona, with his advanced posts extending to Ariola, and thus observing the debouches of St. Gothard; whilst the passes of the Simplon were as closely shut up by a corps under the Prince de Rohan, in the upper part of the Vallais. The Lower Vallais, containing the foot of the Great and Little St. Bernard, where Napoleon proposed to force a passage, was occupied by General Had-dick, whilst the passes of the Maurienne, in Savoy, also the foot of Mont Cenis, the valley of Suza, and so on to Fenestrelles, were protected by various corps under General Kalm; the right of the Austrian army resting upon Turin. The Austrian centre was in possession of the whole line of Maritime Alps, as far on the sea-coast as Albenga and Finale, even occupying some posts on the republican territory; whilst the left extended to Novi, with detachments resting on Pavia and Placentia; thus forming a regular semicircle in front of the French troops and the French frontier. It must be observed, however, that although the Austrian troops in Italy amounted to upwards of 60,000 men, still were they dispersed

dispersed over a great extent of country ; whilst, to assist them, they had not more than 10,000 Piedmontese, together with about 20,000 Tuscans and Neapolitans, as allies.

With respect to the French troops, they occupied part of the Vallais in Switzerland, and had their advanced posts even to the foot of St. Bernard, whilst their left occupied part of Mount Cenis, with the Little St. Bernard, the centre guarding the roads towards Nice, and their right occupying Savona and Genoa; along which line of defence, they had not more than 40,000 men. Reinforcements, however, to a considerable amount, were pushing on from various quarters, independent of what Napoleon was bringing up: but then the whole were in a state of insubordination, whole companies of them returning into France, with their arms and baggage, in spite of all the promises, and all the proclamations, of Napoleon; and, indeed, nothing but the free liberty of plunder and pillage even in the country of their friends, enabled Massena, in the month of April, to keep together about 35,000 men.

It was now supposed that Napoleon intended, with his army of reserve at Dijon, to co-operate with Moreau in the German campaign; for it was never suspected that he would attempt to march his army by the almost impracticable route from that city into Italy; and, indeed, he took every possible means to conceal his intentions.

Frequent skirmishes now took place between the hostile armies in all quarters, indicative of the speedy opening of the campaign; and, on the side of the Austrians, General Melas left his head-quarters at Turin, and advanced to Alexandria, from whence he issued a military proclamation, reminding his troops of their former successes and pointing out to them fresh glories in the ensuing operations.

On the side of Napoleon also there was much activity; and he sent Berthier, about the middle of April, to the command of Dijon, previous to his own arrival, where there was an army already formed of 50,000 men, all in good order, and ready for service.

No sooner had Berthier proceeded to Dijon, on the 20th of March, than he received information of a detachment of the Austrians having taken possession of Mount Cenis;

Cenis; when he instantly reviewed the army, and then proceeded to Basle, where he had an interview with Moreau, who promised to distract the attention of the Austrians by commencing operations on the Rhine, in the ensuing week: whilst Berthier, in the mean time, detached General Thureau with a force towards Suza, who coming up with the rear of that Austrian force which had advanced to Cenis, commenced an attack, which ended in the defeat of the small Austrian corps, and the occupation of that pass by the French army.

Still was the army of Italy, however, in such a weak and disorganized state, that Massena was obliged to reduce his line of defence, and concentrate the greatest part of his force in the vicinity of Genoa; yet this movement, to which he was absolutely reduced, was still in conformity with the plans of military operation which Napoleon had now in view, and which were, to concentrate the whole of his forces in disposable masses on such points as were most favourable for operations, either of defence or attack, instead of occupying wide positions and extended lines. In conformity with this was his ostensible army of reserve, which, however in direct opposition to its name, was intended to be the most active of all his military concentrations, being at a central point, from whence he could at pleasure menace by false demonstrations, or advance at once upon a plan of offensive warfare. His first object was, to penetrate rapidly into Italy, so as to be able to relieve Massena at Genoa, where he was in great danger; for the Austrians had now determined to direct their most powerful force for the capture of that city, merely proposing to keep the other armies of France in check, until that operation should be achieved, after which they would have been enabled to direct the whole of their concentrated armies upon Switzerland and the Rhine.

Moreau having opened the campaign in Germany with great energy, Napoleon felt himself at liberty to commence his intended plan of operations, and he immediately ordered the army of reserve at Dijon to proceed for Italy, directing their march to Geneva, through the Pays de Vaud and the Lower Valais to Martigny, a village about six leagues from the Great St. Bernard, preparatory to the boasted passage of that difficult route.

On the 6th of May 1800, Napoleon left Paris, and proceeded to the head-quarters at Martigny, where he stopped three days. He was accompanied by Dessaix, who had just arrived from Egypt; with that General his plans were now formed, which were, that the main body should traverse the Great St. Bernard, and that the other part should be divided into three columns, to penetrate by the three passes of the Simplon, Mount St. Gothard, and Mount Cenis.

On the 15th of May, Napoleon first crossed the mountain, and advanced to Remi, about eighteen miles distant from the monastery at the top of the hill; here, however, he was met by an Austrian force, which, though not very considerable, yet maintained its ground for some time, and then only retired, step by step, fighting obstinately, until their rear was in danger of attack from another division of the French army now descending in support of Napoleon and the advance.

In the passage of the Alps, the abilities of Napoleon were manifested in a most striking manner: it would far exceed the limits of this work, to enumerate all the difficulties he had to encounter; a few of them, however, it is absolutely necessary to give, in order to shew the depth of his genius, and the resources of his mind.

Having reached St. Peter, at the verge of the great mountain St. Bernard, on the 15th of May, the whole park of artillery and ammunition was collected, for the purpose of being conveyed across the mountain. The height of the mountain is 1800 feet above the level of the sea: it requires two days to climb to the top of it; not because of its height, but on account of the ice which constantly envelopes it.

The sight and description of this mountain was, of itself, enough to subdue the hardest veteran. The cold is excessive, even in the middle of summer; not a tree, or even a small shrub, is there to remind one of the empire of vegetation; no herb nor green leaf offers a pleasing verdure: birds never haunt these regions, or repose in them from weariness of flight! It has pleased nature to leave this part wild and barren: a vast extent of snow on every side yields a melancholy and monotonous prospect—rocks of a greyish colour—great heaps of ice—an immense perspective of mountains in a chain, always
white

white, and a frightful silence! from the contemplation of all which the mind is never interrupted but by the sight of clouds, that either appear to precipitate themselves at the foot of the mountain, or to surround you entirely. Such are the gloomy beauties which are to be seen in the face of nature by travellers who visit these elevated points of our hemisphere.

Whenever the winds, the rain, the hail, or the snow, have, during winter, covered or spoiled the footpath, the guides of the country come with their mules, in order to discover the traces; and then, to restore it, they pass and repass over it till it is again practicable; this operation continues sometimes four or five days.

During the summer this passage is not much less difficult and dangerous; the rains penetrating into the mountains of snow melt them, in a manner scarcely visible; large cavities are formed therein, over which the traveller walks, unaware, until, all on a sudden, a gulf opens under his steps, and occasions him to disappear in the twinkling of an eye! A hard frost is preferred, because any one may then safely travel over the snow. Until this expedition under Napoleon, neither artillery or ammunition had traversed these regions; and difficulties of a novel description were now to be surmounted by the genius who led this great enterprise. In vain did infinite obstacles present themselves to frighten the most ardent imaginations; every thing was foreseen by Napoleon, and every thing contrived to carry it into full execution.

The artillery corps immediately set about dismounting the cannon, caissons, forges, &c. piecemeal. Gassendi, Inspector of Ordnance, was ordered to hollow a number of the trunks of trees after the nature of troughs, in which the pieces of cannon might safely slide, and which five or six hundred men, according to the weight of metal, were appropriated to draw up these tremendous heights; the wheels were carried by hand upon poles; and sledges, made expressly for the purpose, at Auxonne, conveyed the axletrees and the empty caissons; and, lastly, mules were loaded with ammunition in boxes made of fir.

In order to encourage this very arduous labour, from four to five hundred livres were offered for every cannon, with its ammunition, so conveyed: the exertion of a whole

battalion was requisite for the conveyance of one field-piece, with its necessary ammunition: one half of a regiment could only draw the load, while the other half was obliged to carry the knapsacks, fire-locks, cartridge-boxes, canteens, kettles, and, more especially, five days provisions, in bread, meat, salt, and biscuit! The whole of these accoutrements and necessities might make a weight of between sixty and seventy pounds. The men yoked themselves, about one hundred to a cable, and in this manner they dragged the cannon up the mountains.

The heavy baggage was sent back to Lausanne, Napoleon himself only taking what might be deemed absolutely necessary. The first division of the army, commanded by General Watrin, followed the movement of the vanguard; the main body followed at a short distance. They were obliged to ascend one by one: nobody was tempted to endeavour to get before his comrade, as it might have occasioned his being irrecoverably swallowed up in the snow. The head of the Indian file column halted every now-and-then, of which advantage was always taken by the soldiers to allay their thirst, by soaking their biscuits in the water of the melted snow; and such were the fatigues of the passage, that these refreshments appeared to them delicious.

In descending the heights, the army had still a journey of six leagues to make; but the rapidity of the descent rendered those eighteen miles truly terrible: at every step they met with deep crevices, formed by the melting of snow; and it was in vain they held their horses fast by the closed reins of their bridles, that did not preserve them from dangerous, and sometimes fatal slides: the men themselves, in spite of all their precautions, often fell; and whatever difficulties they suffered in recovering themselves they still ran the risk of drawing their horses out of the path and perishing with them."

Napoleon's mules and horses were in the train of the army; he himself, being willing to rejoin it by the shortest road, entered a path which some infantry pursued. Towards the middle of this march the descent was so steep that he was obliged to slide down it upon his breech, from a height of about two hundred feet; and in crossing the lake before mentioned, he had very nearly been swallowed up by a collection of thawed snow. The

holes

holes, into which the soldiers fell every instant, rendered this part of their journey over the mountains more fatiguing than the ascending them. They had commenced their march at midnight, and did not arrive at the end of it till nine o'clock in the evening.

Such were a few of the difficulties that were overcome by the active genius of Napoleon; which being accomplished, the whole army pushed on for Italy; and, on the 16th, Napoleon, with the advance, had got as far as Aost, which, though a strong place, was only defended by a small corps of Hungarian troops: these, however, made a faint resistance, and the officer commanding them made good his retreat.

From hence the army proceeded to Chatillon. General Lasnes, in advancing towards it, was informed that the enemy were disposed to make a resistance on a drawbridge, constructed on a precipice, over which, without this drawbridge, it was impossible to pass. Without a moment's hesitation, the chief of brigade, Fournier, sprang forward, and with the 12th Hussars attacked them in so brisk a manner, that in a short time the force which had advanced to defend the pass, was overthrown or sabred, and the passage entirely cleared of the enemy. The fugitives were pursued as far as Fort de Barre. The attack of this fortress now became an object of the first importance; for its position was such, that, if well defended, it must have completely checked, if not stopped, the advance of Napoleon. Its position was on a conical rock, which came so close to the deep and rapid river of Doria, as to leave only a narrow pass at its foot, whilst the bank on the opposite side of the river was too steep, rugged, and inaccessible, to permit any bridge to be thrown across.

Such indeed was the importance of this pass, that if its little garrison could only have held out for a week, the whole French army must have retreated or been starved; and General Melas, the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, was much blamed for not having taken the necessary means of defence, previous to the advance of the French army.

Napoleon had now only a choice of difficulties; either to carry the place, or to seek another more practicable route, if such could be found; he decided, however, on the

the former, though the place was defended by twenty pieces of cannon, and a garrison of 500 men. For this purpose he instantly ordered the outworks to be carried, which was done in a very gallant style by three companies of grenadiers; after which a short pause took place, until night-fall, when the principal attack commenced, the assailants most resolutely scaling the precipices, and even climbing over the pallisades amidst a heavy fire, and driving the Austrians from their defences. In this assault, however, they were at length repulsed; and Napoleon found it necessary to attempt his second alternative. For this purpose, his engineers surveyed a rock called Albaredo, which stood in such a commanding position, that, its ascent once gained, the army might descend under cover of the fire of the fort; but, though a way up was found, yet the descent on the other side was extremely difficult, and the transport of the artillery would have been totally impracticable.

His ingenuity was, therefore, again called in to fill up the deficiency on the score of force; and, instead of attempting again to carry the fort itself, he resolved to adopt a very ingenious stratagem for the passage of his artillery through the suburbs and outworks; for this purpose he ordered a quantity of litter to be spread along the pass, so as to deaden the sound of the carriages, and prevent the Austrians from suspecting his plan of passing in the dark by this route. Still, however, was his object discovered by the garrison, who commenced such a heavy fire, that the Frenchmen fell in great numbers; on which Napoleon ordered a gun to be got up in the tower of the church, with which he commenced such a heavy and well-directed fire upon the fort itself, that he soon battered down the tower over the gate-way, which so intimidated the garrison, that they actually, and most unexpectedly, surrendered at discretion.

His passage thus opened, he advanced rapidly upon Ivrea, which stands between Aost and Turin. His march in this direction was a distance of eight leagues; but, no sooner had the troops refreshed themselves from their fatigue, than he ordered an assault upon Ivrea, which fell to a division of his army under General Boudet, on the 23d of May 1800. It was generally supposed that Napoleon

leon would now have advanced upon Turin, from which he was only twenty-four miles distant, and which could not have made any very obstinate defence: but having received intelligence that a considerable body of Austrian and Piedmontese troops had assembled near Romagna, to the eastward of Turin, where they had taken a position behind the Sesia, a deep and rapid river, he instantly directed his march in that quarter, so as to appear in their front before they could know the strength of his army, or of his being with it.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the various movements of the hostile armies previous to the great and decisive battle of Marengo, which decided the fate of Italy, and finally put an end to hostilities: it is sufficient to observe, that such was the state of the military positions of the two hostile armies, that a general engagement was apparently inevitable, and both sides took all the steps necessary to prepare for this eventful contest. Napoleon, in particular, judging that the principal part of the affair must take place in the plain and village of Marengo, took himself a partial survey of those positions; and, at the same time, ordered his whole army to break up from before Tortona, and to form in order of battle, on the plain between Alexandria and that city, each division taking post as it came up. This was on the 15th of June; but any ulterior operations on that day were checked by a fall of rain, which gave time to the Austrians to make the necessary preparations on their side also, so that at the dawn of day on the 16th, a heavy fire commenced from the artillery, and, before mid-day, every thing seemed to announce the certainty of a general battle.

The whole line of the Austrians was, perhaps, too widely extended, through a range of at least six miles; this seemed, however, to be for the purpose of securing several very strong positions, particularly the bridge of Bormida, and also a pass at St. Stephano, by which they were enabled to operate upon Voguera by a shorter line than was in the power of the French to do.

About noon Napoleon entered the field, accompanied by Berthier; and, at that period, the fire, not only of artillery, but also small arms, was pretty brisk along the whole line; so much so, indeed, that the Austrians
were

were gaining upon the French troops, obliging Napoleon to order up his reserve much sooner than he had expected. This was previous to the coming up of Dessaix; and so much were the French pushed by the van of the Austrians, that Napoleon's left wing, which Victor commanded, was forced from its positions, and began to retire, both cavalry and infantry being thrown into confusion. In a short time the rout was nearly general along the whole French line; and so critical was Napoleon's situation, that he was forced to put himself in the advance of the army in hopes of rallying it; but even in this he was unsuccessful, as the whole line gave way, and was rapidly pursued by the Austrians. The fortress of Tortona was so close to the field of battle, that the garrison in that place were witnesses of the retreat of the French army; and, with great promptitude, made a sortie, which had nearly completely surrounded the flying troops of Napoleon, who *is said*, still to have continued in front, encouraging his discomfited squadrons, endeavouring to defend the defile which is enfiladed by the village of Marengo, and, in which position a most dreadful slaughter ensued from the heavy and continued fire of the Austrian artillery, to the number of at least thirty pieces.

The evening was now rapidly advancing; and, after an obstinate contest of four hours, the whole French army was so completely routed, that two-thirds of it may be said to have been flying fugitives; still did Napoleon obstinately defend the defile of Marengo, and this it was so important for the Austrians to gain, that they now, about four o'clock, sent forward a considerable reinforcement of artillery in that quarter, and, under its fire, advanced a corps of infantry, for the purpose of dislodging the French from a wood, and some vineyards, in which they were strongly posted. With great judgment too, the Austrian general sent forward a strong body of cavalry, so posted, that if the French had been driven from their position, almost the whole of Napoleon's army must have been destroyed.

At this critical moment, when all appeared to be lost, the divisions of Moncier and Dessaix coming up, insured victory to the French, by inspiring them with renewed courage; to which an unfortunate mistake, which Melas,

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the Austrian General, committed about the same time, tended much to contribute. For, finding that he could neither force the defile, nor make any impression upon the centre of Napoleon's army, and perhaps presuming too far on his success, as well as ignorant of the reinforcements now arriving, he weakened his line by extending it in hopes of surrounding the whole French army. No sooner had Melas committed this error, than Napoleon took advantage of it, with the greatest promptitude ordering his troops to advance from the defile, and to form in front of it; thus presenting a formidable line of fresh troops to the Austrian corps, who were now exhausted by fatigue, and, being vigorously charged, were obliged to fall back; when even their numerous cavalry were thrown into such disorder, that the French hussars, though much inferior in numbers, actually charged, cut them down, and put them to flight.

Dessaix had taken charge of the right wing; and, the Austrian centre being thus broken, he was able to carry all before him against their left; and, at the same time, the Austrian right, which rested upon Marengo, was forced by Victor, who pushed instantly for Bormida, and succeeded in getting possession of the bridge before the arrival of the Austrians, so that their retreat on that side was completely cut off.

On the right, General Kellerman took, at one blow, 6000 Hungarian grenadiers: and Dessaix, in getting possession of San Stephano, completely cut off the Austrian left wing, taking General Zach prisoner; but "Dessaix, in the very instant of victory, received a wound of which he died."

The Austrians now, in their turn, were retreating rapidly in all quarters, and night alone put an end to this hard contest, while the ensuing morning shewed the field of battle completely covered with the slain and wounded. So much had each army suffered, that on the next day an armistice was entered into, in order to bury the dead, to take care of the wounded, and recover in some measure from the dreadful fatigue which all had undergone.

This armistice, which at first was only entered into for temporary purposes, was, in the course of the day, negotiated into a suspension of arms; and a regular treaty was entered into. Each army was to draw its subsistence

from districts therein specified: a number of fortresses were also to be instantly put in Napoleon's possession, the garrisons being allowed to march out with military honours, and with arms and baggage, to join the army then at Mantua; whilst with respect to the inhabitants of the different countries not in arms, no individual should be injured for any assistance he might have rendered to the Austrian army, or persecuted for his opinions: and it was also stipulated that, even in the event of an unfavourable answer from Vienna, hostilities should not recommence without ten days previous notice.

No sooner were the ratifications of the armistice exchanged, and the prisoners on both sides given up, as stipulated, than Napoleon, escorted by a strong guard, set off for Milan, where he re-established his favourite political first-born, the Cisalpine Republic, declaring it destined to form a free and independent nation, and giving directions for the drawing up of a *new* constitution.

Having thus settled the affairs of Italy, Napoleon, accompanied by Berthier, set off for Paris; leaving the command of the army to General Brune.

When Napoleon arrived at Paris, the Consuls and Ministers, with the Senators and Counsellors of State, flocked around him, to congratulate him on the brilliant conclusion of the campaign. At eleven o'clock on the 2d, when the two Consuls and the Secretaries of State entered the Tuilleries, the guns of the palace and of Montmartre announced his arrival. The first words of Napoleon, on seeing the Council of State, were—"Citizens! here I am again, have you done much since I left you?" The answer from twenty mouths at once was, "Not so much as you, General." On perceiving General Kellerman, he said, "Your son has distinguished himself;" to which he added, "I wish for peace, as do the troops of Austria."

The streets of Paris rang with the shouts of "*Vive Buonaparte!*" and the inhabitants of Lyons caused a medal to be struck to commemorate his visit to their city, where he had been prevailed upon to lay the first stone in the building of the *Place de Bellecour*.

The great victories and successes of the French arms, under Napoleon in Italy, and Moreau in Germany, were celebrated on the anniversary of the revolution of the 14th of July, with unusual splendour. Upon this occasion the standards taken at the battle of Marengo, and by the
Army

Army of Italy, were formally presented to the government, in public, by Generals Lasne and Berthier, accompanied by appropriate speeches. In his answer to these addresses, Napoleon, to give all the honour of the several victories to the Generals, said, "The standards presented to the government, in the presence of the people of this immense capital, attest the genius of the Generals-in-Chief Moreau, Massena, and Berthier; the military talents of the generals, their lieutenants, and the bravery of the French army. On their return to the camps, tell the soldiers, that, for the æra of the 23d of September, when we shall celebrate the anniversary of the republic, the French people expect *the publication of peace*; or, if the enemy should oppose insurmountable obstacles, *new standards will be the fruits of new victories.*"

Napoleon now took every means to acquire popularity. At this fête he invited to dine with him such of the invalids as had received medals at the Temple of Mars: amongst them were two venerable old men, one aged 104, and the other 107 years.

In answer to the constant flattery and fulsome adulation that was offered to him, Napoleon took occasion to let the people know they had not yet offered him what he considered to be his price; and he, very early, dropped a hint of his expecting some greater reward of his services than what they had already conferred; for he declared to a committee which had been sent to him, "That, after the time of his consulship was expired, and for a year longer, he would accept nothing from the people; but if, subsequent to that period, they should choose to apply to him the article of the Constitution which decrees, that some great recompence shall be given to those warriors who have signalized themselves in defence of the republic, he would then accept their kindness with gratitude." This was allowing time for one party to increase his value, and for the other to grow generous.

The popularity of Napoleon, however, did not prevent many plots from being hatched against him. It appears that, about this time, one in particular excited the public attention. General Arena, the cousin and early benefactor of Napoleon and his family, had expressed himself very freely against the First Consul, complaining of his ingratitude to himself, for his former services and kind-

ness, not only to him, but to his mother and sisters. Arena also made frequent applications to recall his brother from the Isle du Rhe, whither he had been exiled in consequence of his opposition to the Consular revolution. Of such a man, so violent as Arena, Napoleon had strong suspicions; and he accordingly had employed a person of the name of Harel, a tool of the police, as a spy upon him. At this period, both Harel and Arena visited a man of the name of Demerville, an author, formerly secretary to Barrere; and at his lodgings a plot was contrived against the life of the First Consul. The party then consisted of two Italians of the name of Diana, a poet, and Caracchi, the statuary, a pupil of Canova, and who had fled from Italy for the cause of French liberty, together with Tupino le Brun, a painter, and pupil of David. After a few meetings, it was agreed upon to commit the assassination as the Consul came from the opera, and that the party were all to be provided with daggers and pistols. The whole of this plot was soon known to the police through one of the pretended conspirators, the informer Harel. When the signal was given to arrest them at the Opera House, only three were there, Tupino and the two Italians, and only one of those had a dagger in his pocket; and even he was not on the same side of the house where Napoleon sat, but was standing in the opposite lobby. Of the others, Arena, as he proved on his trial, was at home, and Demerville was also at home, and unwell, but he was arrested the next day, though it was not until five days after that Arena was taken up, and then only in consequence of surrendering himself; for the latter knew that it was rumoured in Paris, that he was in the plot of those persons arrested at the Opera House, and therefore wrote to Fouché about it. Upon this, Fouché wished the matter to rest where it did; but Arena, not content with this letter to the minister, also wrote to Napoleon; when he was ordered to appear at the public police office, and there arrested.

When the prisoners were put upon trial, the first evidence brought forward was their own confessions at the police office; but to this they objected, as it was obtained from them by torture. In fact, at that first examination, when Caracchi did not answer a question according

according to the wishes of M. Bartrand, the interrogating officer, he presented a pistol to his head, and made him give such an answer as inculpated himself. Nay, on the trial, the interpreter, a Mr. Viletti, was called on to confirm this statement; and as that gentleman manfully told the truth, he was immediately dismissed from his situation at the police office, and the unfortunate prisoners found guilty upon those extorted confessions, backed by Harel's testimony. It is rather a curious fact, that they were all found guilty, and all guillotined, except Diana, who was acquitted, but afterwards banished, though he was the only one that had the dagger at the Opera House!

This plot, whether real or not, was soon after followed by another, of a terrible description. It appears, that, on the 24th of December, as Napoleon was on his way to the theatre, a most violent explosion broke the windows of his carriage, and killed several persons, besides many being wounded. The plan itself seems to have been ingeniously contrived; the conspirators having filled a barrel with combustibles, and placed a rifle gun also within-side of it, the whole being fixed upon a small carriage in a narrow street, so as to obstruct Napoleon's passage. On this occasion, Napoleon, together with the generals and aides-du-camp with him, who were accompanying him to the opera, escaped death only by a miracle; and he himself owed his life to a half-drunken coachman, who in a most extraordinary manner drove full gallop through the narrow street, which was almost barricaded by the cart containing the infernal machine. Scarcely was the carriage passed by, when the cask, filled with a quantity of lead and iron, blew up, killing and wounding a number of people in the street and the neighbouring houses, which were many of them much shattered and damaged.

This plot gave Napoleon an opportunity and a pretence of getting rid of some very troublesome persons whom he suspected, not less than 130 of them being transported to Cayenne "by a measure of high police," such as in former turns of revolutionary despotism had been called "measures of general safety."

It has been observed, that this affair of the infernal machine caused an entire revolution in the proceeding and mode of life of Napoleon, and that from this period he

he became quite another man. It is even asserted, that his mistrust broke out on all occasions; and that his moderation in the sittings of the council now forsook him. Having hitherto observed and studied the temper of the people he had to deal with, he began now despotically to announce and to maintain his own will. From this period also he took occasion entirely to change his whole conduct even towards his personal friends. This character of him, however, is very much to be doubted; it certainly became him to take every precaution for his own safety; but he had too many views connected with his future elevation, to despise the public favour.

The year 1801 gave him an opportunity of exhibiting himself in the character of a pacificator, in which, either from policy or ambition, he seemed so desirous of exhibiting himself. Before the close of 1800, hostilities had been on the point of being renewed in Italy, and they were only prevented in consequence of information being received by Brune, who had superseded Massena, that the preliminaries were signed by Count St. Julien, on behalf of the Emperor of Germany, and also that Count Cobentzel had repaired, as the Austrian ambassador, to Luneville, in order to prepare a definitive treaty; after which it was understood between Generals Bellegarde and Brune, that hostilities should be suspended until the issue of the negotiations should be known.

Early in the year 1801, however, hostilities recommenced between the two armies; but, on the 6th of February, a new armistice was concluded at Luneville, and this was followed upon the 9th of the same month by a treaty of peace, which threw the continent at the feet of France. By this treaty between France on one side and the Emperor and the Empire on the other, all the left bank of the Rhine, the county of Falkenstein, and the Frickthal, were ceded to France; the principal clauses of the treaty of Campo Formio were confirmed; and Tuscany assured to the Duke of Parma.

Napoleon had now no enemy to contend with but Great Britain, against which he directed all his hostility. By his intrigues with the northern powers, he succeeded in raising a maritime confederacy against England; but which the immortal Nelson dissolved, by his successful attack on Copenhagen. At length, the peace of Amiens put

put an end to hostilities on all sides. This peace, which proved of such short duration, was wholly ascribed by the flatterers of Napoleon, to his great moderation.

Napoleon was now acknowledged by *every power* in Europe as First Consul of France; and his authority was so well consolidated, that no hopes were entertained of the Bourbon cause. His object was to drive the French princes out of Europe; and in this he partly succeeded, for it was in England only that at length they found an asylum.

As soon as the news arrived in Paris of the British government having agreed to the preliminaries, Napoleon immediately made arrangements for a peace with the Turkish Emperor; and in this he displayed, notwithstanding the peace with England, his hatred to that power, in procuring terms not only favourable to France, but hostile to Great Britain, at the very moment when his admirers in this country were boasting of his pacific moderation.

Peace was also made with the different German powers; and he who, but a few short years before, did not possess as much land as would have filled a beau-pot, was now occupied in granting indemnities to princes, and settling the boundaries of independent states. He also formed a treaty, or concordat, with the Pope, whose object was to model anew the Gallican church, that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion should aid the consolidation of the Consular power. By this concordat, the episcopal sees were all to be filled up, not by the ancient bishops, but by persons presented to them by Napoleon, and of course to be confirmed by his Holiness. This measure was highly acceptable to the people of France. It gave a consolidation to the revolutionary changes of property, and the confirmation of the sales of the ecclesiastical lands throughout the republic. It also served as a prop to his own usurpation; and he who had formerly boasted of being a disciple of Mahomet, of destroying the Pope, and overturning the Christian religion, now had the effrontery to acknowledge to his own creatures in his councils of state, that these proceedings in favour of religion were merely to gratify the majority of the French people, and to consolidate public opinion in his own behalf. Nay, he is said to have gone even further

further in the explanation of his motives; for some of his confidants having objected to the concordat and its consequences as too extensive, and too rapid a departure from the original principles of the revolution, Napoleon observed to them, "Make you no account, then, of a clergy who will pray every day for the safety of the republic, and of bishops who will be obliged by their oaths to reveal all plots against it?"

During the negotiations for the definitive treaty of peace between France and England, Napoleon contrived to add fresh honours to those he already possessed; he was now invested with the presidency of the Italian republic in a sitting of the Cisalpine Consulta, which he himself had convoked for the purpose at Lyons. His reception on this occasion was very splendid; he was received with great parade, being met by a guard of honour formed of the young men of the best families, all dressed out in the most superb style. No sooner had he returned to Paris than he occupied himself in announcing to the several European powers, his elevation to this dignity.

This elevation seems at once to have had an extraordinary effect upon him; for, from this moment, it was observed that he affected a greater degree of personal state and ceremony, keeping not only his general officers, but even his most intimate companions, at a distance the most ceremonious and respectful. Even in his Legislative Councils he began to display his arbitrary feelings, making them, not only individually, but collectively, feel the weight of his insolent displeasure: yet still were there some incipient symptoms of a spirit of liberty existing, as some even of the members of his own choosing began *to talk* about restoring the liberty of the press; nay, they had the firmness to reject a civil code, remarkable for its absurdity and its tyrannical enactments. But so incensed was the First Consul by this opposition, that he soon rendered these bodies more subservient to his purposes than ever the old parliaments had been to former monarchs; for, by means of that regulation which caused one-fifth to go out annually by ballot, he soon contrived to get rid of every man of honesty, or of talents, who was averse to his proceedings.

But it was not in France alone that Napoleon displayed his despotic power; in Switzerland he had also begun

begun to shew his intentions, by sending the most threatening dispatches, announcing his mediatorship in disturbances produced by his own emissaries, and declaring his intention to interfere in their internal disputes, if they did not immediately adopt such measures as were most agreeable to his views. Nay, in the very same month, he sent General Thureau into the county of the Val-lais, with orders to possess himself of the public archives and of the public treasury; after which it was annexed to France, in like manner as had already been done with the Pays de Vaud: so that the Swiss states had no other prospect before them than that of being swallowed up in the same insatiable vortex.

The ambition of Napoleon began now to shew itself in a striking manner. Not satisfied with the honours he already enjoyed, and the authority with which he was invested, he boldly aimed at the Consulship for life; and his first step towards this was to cause his emissaries to agitate the question, of what gratitude was due to the hero who had achieved so much national glory, and conferred upon France so many benefits? It was proposed by some members of the Tribune, that he should be re-appointed to the supreme power for five years longer; whilst the Conservative Senate, idly imagining that they were conferring upon him the highest honour, and that his ambition would thereby be fully gratified, talked of extending his office to the space of ten years; which accordingly took place, as far as a resolution would go. But so little satisfied was Napoleon with this, that, three months after, he obtained this office for life; having with great ingenuity contrived to make an appeal to the people, which appeal was put in these words—"Shall Napoleon Buonaparte be declared Consul for life?"

In every commune registers were opened with the question, and with space for signatures of acceptance or denial; but the time allowed was so short that few could have opportunities of denying it, *if they dared*; whilst the names that were signed as acceptances being added to those who did not sign at all, were considered as a majority of the nation in favour of the question. Upon summing up the signatures it appeared, that three millions had voted for it, and *some hundreds* against it.

Having thus got the suffrages of the people, Napoleon

went a step further than their votes; for, by a resolution of the Conservative Senate, it was declared, that he should have liberty to appoint his own successor; thus rendering his Consulate completely hereditary, and placing him in the situation of a Sovereign Prince, with a territory that exceeded any thing ever known in Europe since the establishment of the balance of power.

By the constitution which thus invested Napoleon with so much power, *all* the Consuls were for life; but Napoleon was to present the names of the others to the senate, who might refuse his first and second nominations, but were obliged to accept the *third* offer. His own successor, in case of death, was to be named twenty-four hours afterwards. He himself, as First Consul, was to possess the power of making peace or war, and to perform all the usual functions of royalty; he was even to nominate forty of the Senate, a proportion of one-third; and, in short, he had vested in himself and his successors, by this *Senatus Consultum*, a power more despotic than had before been thought of in Europe from the earliest antiquity. He was thus elevated to the highest pinnacle of power, and possessed all the attributes of royalty; and nothing was wanting to fill up the measure of his ambition, but the name, which he soon after obtained in spite of the hatred which the French had sworn to Kings.

Napoleon had no sooner obtained the Consulship for life, than, by force of intrigue, he also obtained the title of Mediator of the Swiss Confederation.

Being now firmly seated upon the Consular throne, his whole policy appears to have been directed to one object, *viz.* to plunge France and England once more into all the horrors of war. For this purpose he left no means untried to provoke the resentment of Great Britain: he probably thought that, by actually employing the minds and faculties of the French, he should best prevent any conspiracies against himself.

Whether the complaints he urged against England were well founded or not, it perhaps would be impossible at this time to ascertain; but that he was exasperated against her in the highest degree, is certain from what passed at the interviews which Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, had with him at the palace of the Tuilleries. The proceedings that took place at these interviews are

so curious, and mark his character so strongly, that we shall give them a place in these Memoirs.

The first interview happened on the 17th of February 1803, when, agreeable to request, Lord Whitworth went to the Thuilleries, and was received by him in his cabinet. This reception was tolerably cordial; and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, Napoleon desired his Lordship to sit down, as he himself did, on the other side of the table. Napoleon instantly began by declaring the necessity of making known his sentiments in the most clear and authentic manner, in order that they might be transmitted to the King, and that, he said, would be done more effectually by this means than through any medium whatever. He then lamented that the treaty of Amiens had not been followed by conciliation and friendship, but had been productive only of jealousy and mistrust. He next enumerated the various provocations which he pretended to have received from England, and made the non-evacuation of Malta and Alexandria the most prominent objects of complaint; saying, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce in this; and that, of the two, he would rather see us in possession of one of the suburbs of Paris than of Malta. His next complaint was the state of the British press; after which he accused us of pensioning assassins, &c. He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because "every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him." With respect to Egypt, he said, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he could have done so; but that this he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might perhaps be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France. After this he asked, *what he had to gain* by going to war with England; but then he held out, that a descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. Still, he asked, how it could be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to

it by necessity, when the chances were, that he, and the greatest part of the expedition, would go to the bottom of the sea? He said much on this subject, and never affected to diminish the danger. He also acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him: but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise. He boasted much of the resources of France; talked of her 480,000 men, all now to be completed; at the same time he acknowledged that England, by her fleet, was the mistress of the seas, a force which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years; but *very modestly* added, that two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, yet by their strifes might overturn it.

After this he made a political tour of all Europe, endeavouring to convince the ambassador that we had not a single ally, nor even a single friend, upon the continent; and thus he went on for upwards of two hours, without giving Lord Whitworth any opportunity of entering into a vindication of England, except at one or two short intervals, when his Lordship endeavoured, but in vain, to convince him that he was in error. His Lordship, however, very properly noticed the insidious bait held out to him about our joining France in governing the world, by observing, that, as for participation of indemnities, or other accessions which the King might have obtained, he could take upon himself to assure him that his Majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire! Lord Whitworth also said, that England would always consider the re-commencement of hostilities as a misfortune; but that, if his Majesty was so desirous of continuing a peace, it was not from any fear of the difficulty of obtaining allies. Napoleon, however, seemed to think that we had nothing to do with the continent; for when Lord Whitworth spoke of Piedmont and Switzerland, he merely exclaimed that these were trifles, and must have been foreseen even whilst the negotiations were going on, adding, that *now* we had no right to speak of them. When Lord Whitworth, speaking of continental allies, said, that we were the less anxious of ob-

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taining them, inasmuch as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for, perhaps, inadequate services, would now be all concentrated in England herself, thus giving a proportionate increase or energy to our exertions, Napoleon rose hastily from his chair, said he should give orders to Andreossi to enter upon further discussion with the British minister at home, and then, after this long conversation of two hours, during which he talked almost incessantly, he recommenced some indifferent subjects in apparent good humour, and retired.

Much diplomatic discussion ensued after this, respecting the armaments in the French and Dutch ports, and also with regard to the King's message on that subject to parliament, recommending some precautionary measures on our part; and, after several interviews with Talleyrand, Lord Whitworth went, on Sunday the 13th of March, to the court of the Thuilleries, where Napoleon accosted him, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking his Lordship, if he had any news from England; on which Lord Whitworth said, that he had received some letters from Lord Hawkesbury two days previous. "Then," said Napoleon immediately, "you are determined to go to war."—"No!" replied his Lordship, "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace." Napoleon then said, "We have already carried on war for fifteen years." On this he seemed to wait for an answer, when Lord Whitworth only observed, that it was too long. Napoleon said, "But you wish to make war fifteen years longer, and you force me to it." His Lordship now told him that this was very far from the intentions of the King of England; when Napoleon abruptly proceeded to Count Marcow, and the Chevalier Azara, the Russian and Spanish ministers, who were standing together at a small distance, and said to them, "The English wish for war; but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it again. They pay no respect to treaties. We ought from the very first signing, to cover our treaties with black crape!" He then went his round. In a few minutes he returned to Lord Whitworth, and resumed the conversation, if such it could be called, with something personally civil to the ambassador himself, and then added, "Why do
you

you arm? Against whom are your measures of precaution? I have not one single ship of the line in all the ports of France: but if you will arm, I shall arm also; if you wish to fight, I can fight also. You may kill France, perhaps, but you can never terrify her." "We wish neither the one nor the other," said Lord Whitworth; "we would willingly live on good terms with her."—"You must then pay respect to treaties," replied Napoleon. "Woe unto those who pay no respect to treaties, they will be responsible for it to all Europe." He was now too much agitated to make it advisable for Lord Whitworth to prolong the conversation: his Lordship therefore made no answer, and Napoleon retired to his apartment, repeating his last phrase. It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by upwards of 200 people, who were present; but Lord Whitworth observed in his dispatch, that there was not a single person at the court, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and his total want of dignity, as well as of delicacy, upon the occasion.

On the 16th of the month, Lord Whitworth called upon Talleyrand to converse with him on the subject; he had not been able to see him sooner, as that minister had been much occupied. His Lordship then told him plainly, that he had been placed by Napoleon in a situation which could neither suit his public nor his private feelings; that he went to the Thuilleries to pay his respects to the First Consul, and to present his own countrymen, but not to treat of political subjects; and that, unless he had the assurance from Talleyrand, that he should not again be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, he should be under the necessity of discontinuing his visits to the Consular court.

Talleyrand then assured him, that it was very far from Napoleon's intention to distress him personally; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the British government; and that it was incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of *exculpating himself* in the presence of the different powers of Europe. He assured Lord Whitworth, however, that nothing of the same kind should again occur.

No sooner did Lord Whitworth's dispatches reach the British court, than a proper notice was taken of these circumstances; and, on the 27th of March, Lord Hawkesbury transmitted a dispatch to the ambassador, in which he signified his Majesty's pleasure, that he should notice it to Talleyrand, requiring a direct and explicit engagement that such proceedings should not again take place, and this he wished to be done in order to shew Napoleon that such conduct would not be passed over by the British monarch or by the British nation; a circumstance too of great importance, with respect to the rest of Europe, as Napoleon had publicly boasted that England was unable to contend *single-handed* with France: this indeed was *only* in the *Moniteur*, and Napoleon as well as Talleyrand did not scruple to deny the authenticity of that state publication, whenever it suited their convenience.

After this, Napoleon, in every part of the negotiation, vehemently insisted upon the evacuation of Malta; but when at last, after great temporizing on his part and that of his ministers, Lord Whitworth demanded his passports, on the ground that actual war was even better than a state of suspense, he detained those passports from day to day by every subterfuge in his power until the 12th of May, when the passports were at length granted, and his Lordship set off for London: in which city the declaration of war was announced on the 18th of May 1803, after a short peace of only one year and sixteen days.

Some time before the breaking out of this war, Napoleon made attempts to induce Louis the Eighteenth to abdicate his throne, which we have already noticed in our Memoirs of Louis. This proposition was made by the Prussian governor of Warsaw; in which he offered him an indemnity for himself and family in the kingdom of Poland, which was to be restored to its ancient splendour, whilst Prussia should have Holland in lieu, Russia to be indemnified out of Turkey, and Austria to have Prussian Silesia, for all which Holland was to be the equivalent. To these arrangements he supposed England would have no objection, as she was to retain Malta, to add Hamburgh and Bremen to Hanover, or, if she pleased, she might try to recover America; for which purpose he would assist her by sending 30,000 men to Louisiana! We vouch not for
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the truth of this extraordinary tale, but think it not unlikely in the madness of his ambition; particularly as it would have facilitated his own seizure of the Imperial purple, whilst such a change of property in Europe would have laid a sure foundation of future wars, in which France might have helped herself as she pleased.

Another plot was now detected, the object of which was to have been Napoleon's personal downfall: the principal persons concerned in it were Pichegru, Georges, and Lajollais, a friend of Pichegru; General Moreau had, to a certain extent, implicated himself with Pichegru, having had some secret interviews with him at Paris; to which was subjoined, that the assassination of Napoleon was the first object to be pursued.

This plot was discovered by the seizure of an agent of the conspirators, on his return from England: upon which the various persons accused were instantly arrested, with the exception of Pichegru and Georges, who contrived to remain unknown in the capital; and, on the 17th of the month, the grand judge, minister of justice, made his report upon the subject. No sooner was this read in the Tribune, than the president proposed that the assembly should declare itself responsible for the life of Napoleon, which alone secured to France her glory and her prosperity. This did not, however, pass unanswered; for Moreau's brother, who was a member of the assembly, immediately rose, and expressed his concern that endeavours had been made to traduce a man who had rendered such important services to the republic; and who, being arrested, was deprived of the liberty of exculpating himself. He then made a solemn declaration of his brother's innocence, demanding that the general should be brought to trial before the ordinary tribunals, where he would make it appear, with the utmost facility, that calumny the most infamous was the sole ground of accusation.

Moreau's brother was then told by the president that the accused should have every facility for his defence that could be required; but this, even then, was evidently of no avail, for the servile Senate, Tribune, &c. had already prejudged the cause, and now hastened with their congratulations on the discovery of this conspiracy, which they asserted to have been instigated by the British ministry. They next requested that Napoleon

would

would in future pay greater attention to his own personal security, which they considered as so inseparably connected with that of the nation, but which his own personal courage had prompted him to despise.

These addresses were followed by naval and military ones; and in that from the former he was told that the seamen waited with impatience for the moment when he should proclaim the *hour of vengeance* arrived.

Pichegru was soon apprehended; and a law was passed, making the concealment of Georges a capital offence: every means were also taken by the police to secure him, and all those denounced as his accomplices. Early in March, Georges was at last arrested, whilst attempting to escape from Paris, but not before he had killed one police-officer, and wounded another of those who sprung forward to seize him. The conspirators were soon afterwards brought to trial. Georges and a few others were condemned and executed; Pichegru fell a sacrifice in prison to Napoleon's cruel policy; and Moreau was banished to America.

But the greatest stain upon Napoleon, and what must ever fix the deepest stigma upon his memory, was the illustrious victim which now fell a sacrifice to his cruel jealousy. This was the Duke d'Enghien; of whom he had said more than once, that the only individual of the Bourbons from whom any thing could be feared, then resided in an obscure manner in a small town in Germany. This gallant but unfortunate young prince had already acquired a distinguished reputation; as during the whole of the preceding war he had served under his brave grandfather, the Prince of Conde, where his skill and bravery as an officer, his unbounded generosity and humanity, were so conspicuous, as to be adored by his friends, whilst even his enemies admired him. When the emigrant army was disembodied, the Duke took up his residence, in the most unostentatious manner, in the principality of Baden, choosing Ettenheim as his abode, where he lived in the society of a few select friends, occupying himself with study, with botany, and with hunting, and solacing himself in the tender friendship of an amiable woman, to whom he was known to be married, though reasons of state forbade a public avowal of the legality of the connexion.

To render his plan secure, and regardless of private or public faith, Napoleon sent a detachment of cavalry into the neutral territory of Baden, who seized the Duke, together with several other individuals, and instantly conveyed them to Strasburgh, where they were confined in the citadel. This took place on the 15th of March 1804, in defiance of all laws, human or divine; and the only apology which the First Consul thought proper to offer for it was merely a note from Talleyrand to the Elector's ministers, which Caulaincourt carried, and which told them what he was going to do for the arrest of some emigrants, whom he accused of being concerned in plots against his life, and whom he had in vain requested the Elector to dismiss from his territories.

Napoleon now ordered the Duke d'Enghien to be instantly brought to Paris, which was done with the greatest expedition; and the devoted victim was first placed in the Temple. He was then hurried to the castle of Vincennes, and brought before a military tribunal prepared for the purpose by order of Napoleon, and under the selection of Murat, who was then the military governor of Paris*.

During

* The following few particulars of this transaction have been given to the public in a recent publication, which pretends to great authenticity:—

“ On the 19th of March a courier brought information to the Consul (Napoleon), that the Duke d'Enghien was then within 36 leagues of Paris. In the morning of the next day, another brought advice that the Prince would be at the barrier of St. Martin, at the latest, about five o'clock in the afternoon. A courier was instantly dispatched to meet him, with orders that the carriage should go round by the walls, and that the Duke should be lodged in the castle of Vincennes. Buonaparte's aide-du-camp was at the same time sent to the governor of Paris, with instructions immediately to summon a special council of war, consisting of seven members, of which General Hullin was to be the president; the said council to assemble at ten o'clock in the evening at the castle of Vincennes, for the purpose of trying a prisoner accused of conspiring against the safety of the state, and the person of the First Consul. The name of the Duke d'Enghien was not mentioned in these instructions.

“ A large company were assembled the same evening at the Thuilleries. About two in the morning a courier arrived from Vincennes, with a letter for Buonaparte. He went into his closet, where he remained for a short time; then calling an aide-du-camp, he gave him a letter, with orders to hasten to Vincennes, and not return without an

answer.

During the whole of this last day the unhappy Duke had not been permitted to have the slightest nourishment; and in this exhausted state, at nine in the evening, his trial commenced, and, after every possible mockery of justice, closed at the end of two hours, with a sentence of death. All the charges were, of communicating with the people in France who were disaffected to Napoleon, of being in the pay of England and joining with English intriguers, and of having borne arms against the republic.

The sentence was immediately carried into execution; and so eager was Napoleon for the fatal moment, that Murat had been ordered to proceed from Paris to Vincennes under an escort of Mamelukes, attended by four aides-du-camp, and accompanied by Mortier, Duroc, Rudin, and Louis Buonaparte (since King of Holland). The most pointed means were taken to surround the castle, and to guard the avenues of that part of the wood

answer. He afterwards rejoined the company; but, whatever efforts he made, he could take no part in the conversation. At five o'clock in the morning the aide-du-camp returned, and put a note into his hands: he broke the seal eagerly, and having read it, said aloud, 'I have been troubled long enough—I shall then hear of him no more.' The next day it was known all over the chateau, that the Duke d'Enghien had been shot that night at the castle of Vincennes.

"It is impossible to form an idea of the impression that the death of this prince made upon all who were usually about Buonaparte. A gloomy and reserved air pervaded them all; there were even some who took so little pains to disguise their sentiments, that he perceived them. This was particularly the case with M. C——. 'Citizen Minister,' said the Consul to him before a number of people, 'you had better, I think, write down what you have to say; you will then be spared oral communication with me, which I perceive gives you pain. If half measures be to your taste, this is not the age for you, Citizen.' (*Given word for word.*) M. C—— answered, "There are circumstances, Citizen Consul, in which a man has not sufficient self-command to be capable of rendering himself agreeable to every body, yet without having the least wish to wound any one.' This scene was not attended with any further consequences. Buonaparte, however, perfectly convinced that the death of the Duke d'Enghien had alienated many persons from him, did all he could to efface the impression. His character, naturally severe and despotic, became on a sudden more pliant and engaging. Then was the season for asking favours; whoever solicited one might almost depend upon not being refused. When force and power united are presented to us under the mask of mildness and affability, few are they who can withstand them.

of Vincennes which led to the place of execution, by Italian troops, whilst the Mamelukes carried torches in order to light up this deed of darkness.

For this speedy mode of punishment the unfortunate victim was quite prepared, having merely answered to his sentence, "I am ready and resigned;" and it is said, that when told that his executioners were to be Italians, he exclaimed, "Thank God! they are not Frenchmen. I am condemned by a foreigner, and God be praised that my executioners are foreigners also: it will be a stain less upon my countrymen."

When the Duke was brought to the place of execution, he lifted up his hands to Heaven, fervently uttering, "May God preserve my King, and deliver my country from the sway of a foreigner." On this they proposed to bind a handkerchief over his eyes; but he refused, observing, "that a loyal soldier, who had often been exposed to fire and sword, could face death with open eyes and without fear;" after which he cast his eyes upon the soldiers, who had now levelled their pieces, and told them to point lower, otherwise they would miss, or perhaps only wound him. Nine grenadiers then fired, and seven hit him; of which two balls went through his head, and five into his body, when the corpse was instantly put into a coffin, filled up with lime, and then interred in a grave previously dug in the garden of the castle. Thus perished in the prime of life the only son of the Duc de Bourbon, a prince who inherited all the virtues of the illustrious house of Condé. And thus did Napoleon tarnish, with the blackest crime he could possibly be guilty of, the lustre of his great victories.

Napoleon, having now got rid of all those whom he thought capable of thwarting his ulterior designs, began to unfold the great views he had formed upon the government. Whatever his projects might now have been, (says a popular writer whom we have already quoted), there was nobody to oppose him. Moreau had gone for America; Pichegru was no longer in existence; the royalists were every day led to the scaffold; and the blood of the Duke d'Enghien, now shed, had the effect of drawing all the Jacobins round the ambitious Consul. Most of the foreign courts felt the necessity of repose, and merely waited for the decision upon the *proces* against

against Moreau before they declared in favour of the new Emperor, and to acknowledge him by that title. In all the cabinets there were ministers bribed to support the cause of the First Consul. Prussia alone cost him thirty millions; and it is certain that it was this craving venality of the Prussian cabinet which was the principal cause of the hatred that he bore towards that unfortunate kingdom, so that some years afterwards he loaded it with the most vexatious oppressions. The ministers at Berlin, it must be confessed, possessed a degree of rigour and harshness without example.

The Consul was extremely angry at their proceedings, but that was not the proper time to make a noise about it; yet if the correspondence with his ambassador had been intercepted, the King of Prussia would easily have discovered the sentiments of the new Emperor with respect to him.

On the 14th Germinal of the year twelve, he wrote thus to his ambassador—"You shall receive a torrent of gold; soak these sponges as much as possible; but be assured that they will prepare for me a future pleasure of the sweetest kind—that of shewing to them that I have a good memory."

On the 12th Floreal, his secretary composed for him the speech which he made at the secret committee that took place at St. Cloud, on the 17th of the same month. This committee consisted of only forty-three persons, selected from the first bodies of the state, but principally from the senate; and amongst them his own secret emissaries had been slyly slipped in for the purpose of giving a proper direction to the proceedings. The Consul, having taken eight days to prepare himself adequately for the occasion, then delivered the following speech in the most humble tone:—

"GENTLEMEN—In thus assembling you round me, I have no other views than to give you timely notice of an event whose consequences cannot fail to insure the glory, the tranquillity, and the happiness of our country. For this long time past, not only the capital, but also the departments have been busily occupied in presenting me with a heap of addresses, in all of which a wish is very strongly expressed of seeing the government centralized in one single family,

" If

“ If we are to credit these addresses, then a single chief, elected according to the constitution of the republic, and agreeable to the will of the French people on their being consulted—a single chief, to whom all the other authorities might attach themselves—would break for ever the point of aim to which the ambitious look, would annihilate all culpable hopes, and would give not only more certain stability to the state itself, but also a stronger pledge to foreign courts.

“ The good opinion of my fellow-citizens, too indulgent in my behalf, imposes on me however a law not to expatiate to you upon the advantages resulting from an hereditary authority, limited by wise and sacred laws. Yes, Gentlemen, of all the troubles that may occupy me to-day, the most cruel, without doubt, would be that of finding myself, for a single instant, suspected of ambition. At that single idea, I feel my heart shudder with horror; and yet I am ambitious—Yes, Gentlemen, I confess it; yes, I desire in the most ardent manner to see France in the first rank amongst the European powers; to see her tranquil at home, respected abroad, and invincible against whomsoever may dare to declare themselves her enemy. To attain this great end, there is nothing that I would not undertake, particularly with the pleasing certainty that you would still support me with your knowledge and your advice. There is then, Gentlemen, my sole ambition, but an ambition which devours me—the precious sentiment to which I abandon myself with delight, and for which I would shed, if necessary, the last drop of my blood.

“ These honourable dispositions you, no doubt, feel and share equally with myself, and I now dare demand from you a splendid proof of it. Although first magistrate of the state, I entreat you, Gentlemen, to forget me during your consultation, and in your decision. An inquisition of such high importance ought neither to be influenced by my dignity, nor by any slight services I may have done the state, and which have acquired for me your honourable approbation. Your opinion ought to be a virgin one; it ought to spring from the sincerity of your hearts, and from the purity of your principles, but, above all, from the sacred interest which each of you ought to take in the prosperity of the state.”

“ Return,

“Return, Gentlemen, to your colleagues, and inform them of my sentiments: tell them that the individual, whosoever he may be, is nothing when put in the scale against the general happiness. Advise and persuade them to examine narrowly, to scrutinize carefully the different men of merit whom France to-day possesses. If amongst that number they find one more worthy than I am to hold the reins of government, assure them that I will give them up without regret; that I shall be the first to acknowledge his new title, and that I will serve him with all my best abilities; for if it is a glorious lot to preside at the head of the laws of the first people in the universe, it is not less so to serve him whom the nation has rendered the depository of these laws.”

This speech, an historical monument of the reign of Napoleon, is indeed a *chef d'œuvre* of address and of ambition; for though, throughout the whole harangue, ambition pops out in every word, though in every phrase he puts himself forward, proposes, nay, even names himself, yet it is all done with so much frankness, with such loyalty to the nation, with such noble sentiments, that one is almost forced to confess that he alone is worthy of that which he attempts to make us believe he does not wish for. It is necessary, however, to leap over time and place, in order fully to understand the merit of this discourse. It was, for the Senate, an open trap, which under existing circumstances they could not avoid. This harangue was not alone prepared for those who heard it, but also for the purpose of their causing its various expressions to be circulated amongst their colleagues, and in different societies.

Buonaparte, in his delivery, spoke in the most oily manner, and with the utmost softness, though some points of the speech were given with much warmth, and even dignity; but never before was any orator more speedily convinced of having produced the promised effect, for scarcely had he done speaking, when his auditors shewed that they could not confine themselves to a slight approbation. It was in effect, not the approving clamour of a few courtiers, sold to the will of their master; it was the frank expression of a natural emotion, and one that was generally felt.

Mons. R——, a creature of the Consul, had received

secret

secret instructions to answer him; but he had not occasion for any grand phrases, nor for much eloquence, to acquit himself of his commission. "Citizen Consul," said he, "my colleagues and I refuse to give you to-day an answer: that, after the sentiments that you have just expressed, would, no doubt, cause a severe wound to your modesty. In a few days, the Senate, as a body, will transmit to you their answer, an answer whose purport you may at this very instant read in the countenances of those who surround you."

"I thank you, Gentlemen," replied Buonaparte: "whatever may be the answer of the Senate, it shall always find me disposed to follow its decisions; well convinced as I am, that they will always be conducive to the general happiness, and to the welfare of the state."

The whole affair was closed with a grand dinner, at which Napoleon beamed with hope and satisfaction; for his end was accomplished, and his designs were crowned. Unhappily for him, he knew not how to form a quiet idea of the part which he was now about to perform; for the immensity of the space which he had leaped over had actually turned his head. In that, however, he was certainly excusable; for it is not in the nature of man, whoever he may be, not to be dazzled with the splendour of a crown, unless, indeed, that he has been cradled on a throne. Every thing being thus prepared, a proposition was made in the Senate for declaring him Emperor; which was, of course, unanimously carried.

On the 1st of May, a proposition was also submitted to the Tribune, that the rank of Emperor of the French should be conferred on the First Consul, and that the same should be hereditary in his family, according to the *laws of primogeniture*. To this the only opponent was Carnot, who also opposed the Consulate for life; but though he displayed great classical knowledge and an intimate acquaintance with all the tyrants of antiquity, yet his speech had as little effect as he expected, or perhaps intended.

The various topics of Carnot's speech made some impression upon his hearers; but a set of answerers were ready, who seemed to think, that the crimes committed by republicans for the destruction of monarchy could
only

only be prevented in future by the regal power; and that *they* thought would be most convenient under an Emperor of their own making, as they supposed he would own himself to be, than by the restoration of the ancient family. It is unnecessary, however, to notice the development of events, which were all pre-arranged with as much accuracy as the scenes of a drama; so much so indeed, that on the 3d of May the Tribunate agreed to the proposition which had been submitted to them, but with the proviso, that all due provisions should be made for preserving equality, liberty, and the rights of the people!

On the following day the resolutions and decree of the Tribunate were read to the Senate: which assembly postponed the final discussion to the 18th of the month, when an "Organic Senatus Consultum" was passed, conferring the title, rank, and power of an Emperor, on Napoleon Buonaparte, and directing that a deputation should wait upon him at St. Cloud; which immediately took place, headed by Cambaceres, who presented the offering with a speech suited to the occasion.

To give the heads of this Organic Consultum would be far beyond our limits; but we may observe that it possessed so much of the ancient law of regal succession as to preserve that part called "*Salique*," rendering females incapable of inheritance. In other respects it was an *ex post facto* constitution, conferring the titles of Royal Highnesses upon the whole Buonapartean family, and placing them directly under Imperial control with respect to marriages, &c. It also revived many of the ancient hereditary offices of royalty in France, conferring them upon Napoleon's brothers, and upon some of his choicest favourites; so that, with the exception of a few general promises in favour of liberty, this entire Senatus Consultum was evidently drawn up for the aggrandisement of one family alone.

The new Emperor immediately wrote to his new "cousins," the French bishops; informing them that he was called by Divine Providence to this office, and desiring them to thank God for the same, and to excite the piety and zeal of all the faithful in their dioceses.

Napoleon, says the writer we have before quoted, now

prepared to give to his new dignity all that splendour of which it was susceptible; and he wished at first, after the usage of the ancient kings of France, to be consecrated at Rheims; but he was afraid that Pope Pius VII. would make some difficulties, and would not permit a bishop to prostitute the sacred ministry for this ceremony. However, the Pope, to whom he had given previous intimation of this affair, made him a very satisfactory answer upon the subject. Notwithstanding, he had communicated his fears respecting it to General L——, who answered, “If I was in your Majesty’s place, I would leave the vicar of Jesus Christ to sit quietly upon his stool, and would do whatever I wished at home, and by my own authority. We live no longer in those times when the holy oil was an article of faith. That form, moreover, is not absolutely required: there are monarchs who reign very well without it—witness Spain, and several others.”

“That,” replied the new monarch, “is reasoning like a soldier; but do you forget that there are five-and-twenty millions, to whom I am to give laws, of whom at least eighteen millions consist of fools, pedants, and old women, who would not believe me to be a legitimate sovereign, if the *grease* of the Lord did not fall upon me. In a case so peremptory, we must not neglect to dazzle the eyes of the many: *splendour always prevents reflection.*”

“I feel that, as well as you do,” replied the courtier; “but permit me to tell you, that you will do much injury to your plans, if, after asking the concurrence of the holy father, you should meet with a refusal.”

“What do you speak of—a refusal? The Pope dares it not. The good things of this world touch him as nearly as those of Heaven. I know Pope Pius VII.: I took measure of him during the concordat.”

“He is an *Italian*, cunning, sly.”

“Well, well, General, I shall be glad to convince you that the Father of the Faithful gives me no trouble, and that I know how to model him to my wishes. No, I shall not cause myself to be consecrated at Rheims: a simple archbishop shall not lay hands on me. The Emperor of the French ought only to kneel before the Vicar of God. I can assure you then, that I shall be consecrated in my
own

own capital, and that Pius VII. shall travel from Rome to Paris in order to preside at that important ceremony. Great promises upon certain points, and great honours to be shewn both on the road and at Paris, will be sufficient to bring hither that holy man."

At the close of October, the humbled pontiff set out from Rome, after informing his Consistory, that Napoleon, by his Concordat, had not only restored the Catholic religion over his vast and populous territory, but that the same most powerful Prince, "our dearest son in Christ," who had so well deserved of the Catholic religion for what he had already done, had also signified his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the Imperial crown from the Pontifical power, to the end that the solemn rites, which were soon to place him in the highest rank, should be strongly impressed with the character of religion, and thus call down more effectually the benediction of heaven. It is impossible to conceive any thing more degrading or insulting to religion than the subserviency shewn by the Pope on this occasion. It is not to be wondered at, that Napoleon, a military character, should care little about religion only as it served and administered to his ambition; but it is a matter of surprise and indignation, that the head of the church should so prostitute himself.

The important ceremony of the coronation took place early in December, when the new Emperor had ordered every previous preparation to be made. The whole of the streets through which the procession was to pass, were strewed with sand; and the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame, in which the ceremony was to be performed, was fitted up for this occasion, both inside and out, with all that magnificence and splendour suited to so great an occasion. The military escort was numerous; and the procession, which consisted of an immense train of splendid carriages, was filled with all the people of consequence belonging to the *once* Consular court, in the midst of whom Napoleon and Josephine proceeded, accompanied by the Pope, through lines of curious spectators, until they reached the sacred spot where the ceremony itself was to be performed.

It would be tedious to give all the details of this grand ceremony; but it has been much animadverted upon,

that he placed the crown upon his own head, without waiting to receive it from the hands of the Pope, from whom he impatiently snatched it. But the fact appears to be, from the authority of eye-witnesses, that although he placed the crown on his own head, yet he did not snatch it from the hands of the Pope, as said: for the crowns, both for himself and Josephine, were laid upon the altar; and the Pope, having anointed the foreheads of both Napoleon and his spouse with oil, which he had consecrated for that purpose, he proceeded to bless and consecrate the crowns, taking them in his hands as he pronounced the benediction. He then replaced them on the altar, and retired to his own seat; when Napoleon advanced, and taking in his hand the crown destined for himself, which was a simple wreath of laurel, he pronounced the oath to the nation which had been decreed by the Senate, and then repeated a declaration, importing that he acknowledged to hold the crown by the favour of God and the will of the French people; after which he placed it upon his own head.

Josephine then advanced, when Napoleon laid hold of the crown destined for her, and which was made exactly like those formerly worn by the Queens of France; he then made a speech, stating, that she held the crown only as his true and lawful wife, and *not from any right inherent in herself*; and he then placed the crown upon her head also.

Soon after the ceremony of the coronation, the Conservative Senate waited upon Napoleon at the palace of the Thuilleries, when Neufchateau, the president, addressed him in a pompous speech. To which his Imperial Majesty answered, that he ascended the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the Senate, of the people, and of the army, had called him, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, he first saluted with the name of *Great*. From his youth, he said, his thoughts had been solely fixed upon them; and even then his pleasures and his pains were derived entirely from the happiness or misery of the people. To this he added, "My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country; as magistrates, they will
never

never forget, that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, are only the result of the imbecility and uncertainty of princes. You, Senators, whose councils and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances—your spirit will be handed down to your successors, be ever the props and first counsellors of that throne so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire.”

The Legislative Body was opened on the 26th of December, when that assembly was convened in extraordinary state to receive him. There he took his seat on a throne erected for the occasion, and was present during the administration of an oath to each of the members, who swore to support the empire.

On this occasion he addressed them by the title of “*Princes, Magistrates, Soldiers, and Citizens!*” and they were told, that he had come to preside at the opening of their session, as it was his anxious desire to impress a more august and imposing character upon their proceedings. He then assured them, that if the throne to which Providence and the will of the nation had raised him was dear in his eyes, it was because that throne could alone maintain and defend the most sacred interests of the French people. As a soldier, or as First Consul, he declared that he entertained but one thought—as Emperor he was influenced by no other—that was towards every thing which could contribute to the prosperity of France. He then boasted of having had the good fortune to illustrate France by victories, to consolidate her by treaties, to rescue her from civil broils, and to revive among her inhabitants the influence of morals, of social order, and of religion. Should death not surprise him in the midst of his labours, he fondly hoped that he might transmit to posterity a durable impression, serving as an example or as a reproach to his successors. And he then expressed how highly gratifying it would have been to him, on so solemn an occasion, to see the blessings of peace diffused all over the world. He, for his part, was not anxious to enlarge the territory of France, but to assert its integrity—he felt no ambition to exert a wider stretch of influence in Europe; but then he was determined not to descend from that which he had acquired. He added this memorable expression—how well he has adhered to it, our future sheets will shew—

“ No

“ No state shall be incorporated with the empire ; but I shall not sacrifice my rights, or the ties which bind me to the states that I have created.” In addition to this, however, he broadly stated, that as, in bestowing the crown upon him, the people entered into an engagement to exert every effort which circumstances might require, so would he call out those energies when necessary, to preserve unsullied that splendour which was necessary for their prosperity, and indispensable for their glory, as well as for his own ; concluding, that he was full of confidence in the energy of the nation, and in the sentiments it entertained for him ; so that its dearest interests should be the constant objects of his solicitude.

Napoleon, being thus seated upon the Imperial throne, directed his ambitious views towards Italy, which still preserved the name of a republic, of which he himself was President. His elevation in France led him to proceed in these further views of ambition ; and, to imitate Charlemagne more closely, he resolved to revive the ancient iron crown of Italy ; which would, of itself, give him, if not actual possession, at least a kind of feudal claim over the whole of that peninsula, while at present he merely could boast a jurisdiction over that part which was republicanized.

It was not very difficult for him to attain this new honour ; and so quickly were affairs arranged, that he was able to set off for Milan early in May, accompanied by Josephine. On his arrival in this city he was received with all that adulation which must have now become familiar to him ; and on the 26th of May he was crowned King of Italy, with all the pomp, splendour, and magnificence, to be expected on such an extraordinary occasion. Seated on a most superb throne, he had, on his right hand, the diadem of France, with all its regalia, whilst, on his left, sparkled the brilliant ornaments of the iron crown* : before him he caused the honours of Charlemagne to be placed, thereby giving Austria and Germany

* This was called the “ iron crown,” from part, and the most valuable part, being made of iron, *in the old one* ; for, though gold and diamonds formed the principal part of the workmanship, yet the iron part was a nail of the cross of our blessed Redeemer, or said to be so.

a pretty broad hint of his views upon that empire. The Cardinal Archbishop next invested him with the various insignia; when this bold adventurer rushed up the steps of the altar, seized upon the crown, which lay there upon his left hand, and placed it immediately upon his head, repeating part of the ancient ceremony, whilst he furiously called out, with a loud voice, and in a tone of defiance—"God has given it to me—Let him take care who presumes to touch it."

This ceremony being over, Napoleon presented his new subjects with a constitution, which was to replace the *two* which they had already received. By this he was empowered to choose his own successor; after which the line was to be hereditary, with a proviso, that all future Kings of Italy were to reside in that country, whilst, in the present case, Napoleon was to appoint a viceroy; and, in every case, the imperial and iron diadems were never to be upon the head of the same individual.

This business being settled, he immediately proceeded to annex Genoa to France, in direct opposition to that constitution which he had given it, and to that treaty which he had formed with the Ligurian republic. It is needless to repeat all the processes of threats and bribery which he used upon this occasion: it is sufficient to record, that he had ordered the Doge of Genoa to attend his coronation at Milan; and that, on the 4th of June, a formal surrender of the Ligurian territory was made to him in the name of that people, with much ceremony, when, in a full convocation of all the great officers, and of the legislature of his new kingdom, the Doge addressed him, and solicited him to grant to the Ligurian people the happiness of being his subjects. To such a request it was impossible he could do otherwise than return a most gracious answer; in which he told the Doge, that he would realize his wish, and that *his* people would receive them with pleasure. "You will find," says he, "in your union with my people, a continent. You have only ports, and a marine. You will find a flag which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain, *on all the seas of the universe*, constantly free from insult and from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognise, except for places really blockaded as well *by sea as by land*."

Having

Having settled all these affairs in Italy, Napoleon returned to Paris, where he was received with great pomp and splendour. From Paris he hastened to Boulogne, to expedite the preparations which were making for the invasion of England. He had not long been here before his intelligence from the capital informed him that a new coalition, more formidable than any preceding one, had been entered into between Great Britain and Russia; by which it was proposed to liberate Hanover and the north of Germany, to re-establish the independence of the Swiss and Dutch republics, to restore the kingdom of Sardinia, secure that of Naples, and, in short, to re-establish the order of things in Europe at large, and form barriers against future usurpations.

Sweden and Austria, as well as Russia, were privy to these plans; but it was at first intended to try negotiation before proceeding to force, until the annexation of Genoa convinced all parties that negotiations would be in vain, when Austria became formally a member of the coalition.

Whilst the negotiations were proceeding, Napoleon was making every preparation to meet the storm; and, no sooner was he prepared, than he resolved to march with his whole military force, without delay, in order if possible to crush the coalition before it could become formidable. To him, promptitude was now every thing; for there was a dilatoriness not to have been expected on the part of the confederates, particularly as they had their own time for preparation, but the Russian troops destined to co-operate with Austria had not yet passed their own frontier.

All was now hurry and bustle throughout France; the army of Italy was immediately augmented; the camp at Boulogne was broken up, and the flotilla dismantled; whilst the greatest part of the army of England was marched into Holland and Hanover, in order that they might proceed by the most rapid movements upon the Danube, where the Austrians were assembled. In order to increase his military force, Napoleon now got a conscription levy of 60,000 men; and at the same time he directed a note to be sent to the diet at Ratisbon, in which he laid the whole blame of the war upon the hostile dispositions of Austria.

Before Napoleon placed himself at the head of his
army

army, he called together the Senate, in which assembly he strongly professed his inclination to peace, and attributed the war entirely to the ambition of his enemies: upon which the Senate decreed a new conscription of 80,000. Having appointed his brother Joseph to act as his vicegerent during his absence, on the 24th of September he departed from Paris, accompanied by Josephine and a most magnificent suite; arriving on the 26th at Strasburgh, where he was received with all municipal honours, and where he first placed himself at the head of his army, then estimated at about 140,000 men, which by this time was rapidly advancing towards the field of operations, moving in six divisions. The first of which, commanded by Bernadotte, the present Crown Prince of Sweden, pushed on from Hanover, and arrived at Wurtzburgh, in Franconia, on the 23d of September, the day previous to Napoleon's setting off from Paris. The troops in Holland, under the command of Marmont, had already reached Mentz, and pushed on for Cassel, where they passed the Rhine; which river was also crossed at Manheim, by the 3d corps under Davoust, who immediately took post in advance on the Neckar, where he was soon after joined by Soult, who threw a bridge over at Spires, and marched on Heilbrun, on the Neckar, so that he was soon in communication with the 5th division under Ney, then at Stutgard; to which position this latter general had advanced, by means of a bridge thrown over the Rhine opposite to Durlach. The last division of the army had been for some time at Kehl, under the command of Lasnes, who immediately advanced across the Rhine on the 25th, and took possession of Louisbourg; on which latter route Murat had also crossed with the reserve of the cavalry, pushing on for the defiles of the Black Forest, in order to serve as a *ruse de guerre*, so as to impress the Austrians with an idea that the whole French army meant to take that route as their line of advance.

The whole of the invading army was now on the German side of the Rhine, being joined on the 30th by the great park of artillery which had been brought across the river at Kehl along with the 6th division of the army.

Every thing being ready for action on the 29th, Napoleon on that day crossed the Rhine with his household

troops, and immediately issued a proclamation to his army, in which he told them, That the third coalition had commenced; that the Austrian army had passed the Inn, and thus in violation of all treaties had attacked and driven from his capital the elector of Bavaria, his friend and ally, so that he declared he would not stop until he had secured the independence of the Germanic body, relieved his allies, and confounded the pride of unjust assailants. "Our politics," said he, "shall not again suffer by our generosity; for we will not make peace without a guarantee for its execution. Soldiers! your Emperor is in the midst of you. You are but the vanguard of the Great Nation; if it be necessary, it will in a moment rise at my voice, to dissolve this new league, which British gold and hatred have woven. We have to expect privations and hardships of every description; but we will conquer every obstacle, and we will not rest until we have planted our eagles in the territories of our enemies!" He now advanced to Ettlingen, where the Duke and Duchess of Baden paid their compliments; after which he took up his residence, the following day, at Louisbourg, the palace of the Duke of Wurtemberg.

The main divisions of the French army had by this period formed a junction, so that on the 4th of October the whole line extended from Weissemburg to the borders of the Danube; and opposed to them was the whole Austrian force, amounting to at least 80 or 90,000 men, commanded by General Mack.

The Austrian army was now advanced as far as the defiles of the Black Forest, through which they had supposed it was the intention of Napoleon to advance; and, with that view, they had not only fortified the banks of the river Iller, but were also now busily occupied in adding fortifications to Ulm and Memmingen—tasks of little importance, as Napoleon had with great judgment taken a different route, and had now got completely in their rear before such a measure was even suspected. This great object to the French operations was attained by Soult, who had made forced marches so as to reach the bridge at Donawert, then defended only by a single regiment, which was defeated and forced to retire, after attempting, but inefficiently, to destroy the bridge; to which Murat also advanced with the cavalry, and, having
crossed,

crossed, moved on towards the Lech, driving the Austrians from the whole of that line of positions with considerable loss.

Soult, taking under his command Vandamme's and Le Grand's divisions, advanced on the 6th of October towards Augsburg, where he was soon after reinforced by General St. Hilaire, who, pushing on by the left of the Danube, had penetrated without opposition in that direction; whilst Murat was manœuvring with the same intent, but met with some resistance at Wettingen, where were posted four squadrons of Austrian cuirassiers, together with a considerable body of Austrian infantry. Murat was not in sufficient strength to force his passage; but, being reinforced by Oudinot's corps, under the command of Lasnes, an action took place, which ended in the complete defeat of the Austrian detachment, the greatest part of whom were taken prisoners, together with the whole of their baggage and artillery, to the amount of four thousand men, including a number of officers, as well as eight standards, &c.

The whole of the French corps had now advanced, and in some measure concentrated at the village of Zimmershausen, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between Augsburg and Ulm; and, on the 8th of October, Napoleon reviewed great part of the army.

Several slight affairs now took place between the detached corps of the two armies, in particular on the right wing, where Marshal Ney had followed the line of the Danube as far as Guntzburgh, where he found a considerable body of Austrians posted, who had been detached from Ulm in hopes of assembling other corps on that point, who were advancing to join the main army. This small Austrian force made a most gallant resistance to the passage of the Danube, being posted in a pretty strong position in the town of Guntzburgh, reaching from the village of Lumpach on the right to Keisersburgh on the left, and even covering all the bridges and fords of the Danube as far as Leipham.

Ney advanced with his division to the river, and drove in a small advanced Austrian corps, which found it necessary to recross the Danube, and fall back upon the main body: and having ordered his troops to push on for the river, a general attack was made along the whole

line of the bridges, which were defended by the Austrians with great obstinacy and resolution, but in vain; for the French General Malher having forced the bridge, as well as the causeway leading to Guntzburgh in the very centre of the Austrian position, the Archduke Ferdinand, who commanded, was obliged to retreat towards Ulm—a measure which he effected, but with a loss of all his artillery, and upwards of 3000 men. The loss of the French was perhaps even greater, for the fire of grape from the Austrian batteries was extremely heavy; but the superiority of force at length enabled them to obtain possession of a position of the first importance to Napoleon's plans, who, whilst those movements were going on upon the right, had moved the centre of his army in divisions across the Danube at the bridges of Newburg and Donawert, whilst Bernadotte with the left wing occupied the village of Pfufferhausen, which commanded the road to Munich.

Napoleon next ordered the main body of the army to push on from Zurmshausen towards Augsburg, where he fixed his head-quarters; and now having placed the whole of his forces in such a position as completely to cut off General Mack's communication with Vienna, and that too by a succession of bold and rapid movements, in crossing the Lech, he made a speech to his troops, in which he informed them that a general and most important battle must shortly be expected, as he had now placed the Austrian army in a most critical position.

He now determined to march against the Austrians at Ulm; but having received intelligence that some Austrian and Russian troops were expected to pass the Inn, he instantly ordered Bernadotte to advance in that quarter, with the whole of his own division, reinforced by 40,000 Bavarians. That officer advanced in consequence towards Munich, where he arrived on the 12th of October, having captured a small Austrian force on his route, together with the whole of the baggage of the Austrian guards. No sooner had he got to Munich than he crossed the Inn, and advanced towards Brannau, but not in sufficient time to oppose the advance of the first Russian column, which had already arrived and formed a junction with those Austrian troops under General Kienmeyer, who had

had found themselves obliged to evacuate Bavaria, and had now taken post in the fortress of Brannau and its vicinity. Bernadotte therefore contented himself with taking up a strong position on the banks of the Inn, so as to keep in observation of that force, and even to attack them with advantage if they should attempt to form a junction with the main army at Ulm; and whilst he thus kept them in check, he gave great facilities to Napoleon, who had already detached Soult to occupy Landsperg, which he did, after a sharp action with a corps of Austrian cuirassiers, who were forced to retire upon the main body at Ulm, after losing some artillery and prisoners.

Mack's army, by this occupation of Landsperg, had now its communication completely cut off from the Tyrol, and was of course only in possession of the ground which it occupied, extending from Ulm to Memmingen: its situation was still, however, far from desperate, as it had abundant magazines within its own limits, principally within the lines of Ulm, where the greatest part of the Austrian force was stationed.

Hitherto Mack's force, though completely cut off from the Austrian dominions, was not entirely surrounded, but might have advanced in other directions; yet, owing to some most extraordinary dilatoriness upon his part, or perhaps treachery, no movements whatever were made, so that Napoleon was left perfectly at liberty to put in execution his plan of surrounding it entirely, which he now accomplished, unmolested, by directing Soult to advance with the left wing of the French army towards Memmingen, where the Austrian right was posted, and where a considerable depôt of stores of all kinds had been collected, in addition to those at Ulm, towards which place he now advanced in person with the main body of his army.

Ney now pushed on with the advanced corps, but was resolutely checked by a large body of Austrians on the 11th of October. The gallantry of this corps was most conspicuous, and it was only on the arrival of Napoleon himself with large reinforcements, that they were forced to retreat from their entrenchments; but this they did, after a most obstinate resistance, leaving the French masters of all the works thrown up on one side of the town.

Soult

Soult in the mean time was no less successful: for having appeared before Memmingen on the 13th of October, he instantly surrounded it, when a capitulation took place on the following day, the terms of which were generally considered as a proof of treachery on the part of the Austrian General in command; in fact, though the troops were made prisoners of war, yet the officers were not only allowed to retire upon parole, retaining their property, but carriages were even provided for its conveyance by the French army!

Liberated from opposition, in a manner so little to be expected, Soult instantly pushed on upon the 15th towards Biberach, whither the Archduke Ferdinand had retired. But, on his arrival there, finding that this small Austrian force had continued its retreat towards Ulm, perhaps with the intention of retiring into the Tyrol by the pass of Bregentz, he instantly marched upon this latter place; by which operation the Austrian army was now completely surrounded by the whole of Napoleon's force, with the exception of that corps which occupied Bavaria under the command of the present Crown Prince of Sweden.

In order to complete these manœuvres of Soult, Napoleon gave a pretty fair specimen of his regard to neutrality: for with Prussia he was still at peace, yet he did not hesitate to pass through her territories, both Bayreuth and Anspach, which his troops occupied, though part of the dominions of the Prussian monarch.

By the various movements which had previously taken place, General Mack had most injudiciously diminished his army to little better than 40,000 men, opposed to nearly 150,000, and he had now no chance of escape except that of cutting his way through some part of the line that surrounded him. It is indeed impossible, without having recourse to the idea of treachery, to account for that absolute stupidity with which Mack had all along clung to this position at Ulm.

That such would have been a most judicious one, if Napoleon had advanced by the route of the Black Forest, cannot be doubted; but why he should still have stopped there, weakening his army at the same time, by detachments which were cut off by the French in detail, is a circumstance

circumstance of the most inexplicable nature. Had he advanced in any direction whatever, even after Napoleon had crossed the Danube, he must have succeeded in cutting off some of the French corps, previous to their concentration; but he now found himself cooped up in a town but little capable of defence, whilst the whole of his outworks and the heights that commanded the place itself were in the occupation of Napoleon; who now, on the 15th of October, seemed anxious to avail himself of his positions, and accordingly, as if to hasten the final surrender of the Austrian army, made every preparation for storming the place, telling his soldiers that the following day should be a hundred times more celebrated than that of Marengo, in a position similar to which the Austrian troops were now placed. Indeed, he even went further, and assured them, that as merely conquering the enemy would be doing nothing worthy of themselves or of their Emperor, so now not a single man should escape, whilst that government which had first violated its engagements, should first learn the catastrophe, by the arrival of the French army under the walls of Vienna.

No sooner had Napoleon made his preparations, than he sent in a summons to General Mack, in which he called upon him to capitulate instantly, or to abide the event of a storm; but no sooner had these demands been received, than Mack, after the appearance of a short hesitation, agreed to all the terms proposed; which were, that Ulm should be surrendered with all its magazines and artillery, the garrison to the number of 30,000 men being allowed to march out with the honours of war, but to lay down their arms, whilst the principal officers should be allowed to return to Austria upon parole; the subalterns, however, and privates, were all to be sent prisoners into France until exchanged.

This took place on the 17th, but Mack stipulated for delay until the 25th of the month; and Napoleon agreed that if either an Austrian or Russian force should arrive before midnight of that day, sufficiently strong to blockade Ulm, then the capitulation was to be of no effect; but this stipulation was really of too absurd a nature to deserve a moment's notice, except that it marks, if possible, more strongly, the treachery of Mack,

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which he thus attempted to cloak under such a futile agreement and condition.

Indeed it is evident, that Napoleon merely acceded to it for form's sake, for it was to him of great importance that he should be able to direct his steps upon the Inn, where a large Austrian and Russian force was now concentrating. He therefore *invited* General Mack to a *personal* interview on the 19th, where Berthier *assured* him that it was impossible that any diversion could be made in his favour by the allied army; and Mack, taking him on his word, immediately agreed to fulfil the capitulation on the ensuing day, the 20th, but again stipulating that such part of the French army as was commanded by Marshal Ney, and which merely was composed of sixteen regiments of cavalry and infantry, should not proceed more than ten leagues beyond Ulm, until the 25th, a stipulation of the most absurd and useless nature: but Napoleon's object was gained, and he had no objection to sign any stipulation which it was in his own power to break.

On the 20th, the treaty of capitulation was put in force; Napoleon being present when the Austrians laid down their arms, and became prisoners of war. Whilst this ceremony was going on, Napoleon sent for General Mack and all the principal officers; and, on their arrival in his presence, he addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen, your master wages an unjust war: I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting; I know not what can be required of me. My resources are not confined to my present army. Those prisoners of war now on their way to France, will observe the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. At a single word 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and in six weeks become good soldiers; whereas your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers until after several years. Let me advise my brother the Emperor to hasten to make peace. All states must have an end; and in the present crisis he must feel serious alarms lest the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine should be at hand." And he concluded with these memorable words, "I desire nothing further upon the continent: I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest

interest as mine that I should have them!" To this speech General Mack is *reported* to have answered, that the Emperor of Austria would not have gone to war if he had not been stimulated by the Emperor of Russia. "If that be the case then," replied Napoleon, "*you are no longer a power!*"

In order to reward his troops, Napoleon decreed that the month in which this great success had taken place should be considered as one complete year of servitude for all the individuals forming the grand army in Germany; ordering that it should be not only so in regard to service, but also in pay, at the same time giving to the army, or promising to give, whatever war contributions might be levied in the circle of Swabia, together with all magazines of every kind which had been captured, provisions and artillery only excepted.

Before Napoleon put his army again in motion, he issued an address, telling his troops, that they had thus, by a campaign of fifteen days, completely liberated the dominions of his Bavarian ally from the military force of an enemy; whilst, of 100,000 men forming that army, not less than 60,000 should replace the French conscripts who were taken from the labours of the field. He proceeded to tell them, that they must not yet halt; that they were impatient to commence a second campaign, and that the Russians should undergo the same fate with the Austrians. "Then," said he, "shall be decided the question, which indeed has been already proved in Switzerland and Holland, whether the French infantry are the first or second in Europe;" and he concluded with assuring them, that as there were no generals among the Russians, by the defeat of whom he could acquire any glory, so his sole care should be to obtain victory with the smallest effusion of blood, because his soldiers were his children!"

Napoleon having ordered the prisoners at Ulm to be marched directly into France, and having caused the works both of Memmingen and Ulm to be demolished, he directed that all the territorial property in the Swabian circle, belonging to Austria, should be seized by his commissaries; he then ordered his army to march at midnight of the 21st, whilst he himself set off at the same time towards Augsburg, in his way to the dominions

of his ally the Bavarian Elector. At the same time he directed that all the bridges over the Lech should be fortified with *têtes-du-pont*, in order to defend the approach to the magazines which he ordered to be formed on their rear. He then left Augsburg, and arrived at Munich, where all the honours of royalty were lavished upon him. Here Murat formed a junction with part of his detached corps, the remainder being left to form an army of observation to keep in check the force under the Archduke Ferdinand.

The Austrian troops in Italy having already commenced some military movements, he instantly ordered the whole of his force to advance upon the Inn; and he himself took the personal command of the principal part, with the intention of marching at once to Vienna; in which movement there was nothing to oppose him, but the force under General Kienmeyer, reinforced by the first Russian column that had arrived to the assistance of Austria—a force which at the utmost could not exceed 45,000 men, and was therefore totally unable to give any effectual resistance to his progress. Yet Napoleon still advanced with caution; for he was rather suspicious of the intentions of Prussia, in consequence of his infringement of her neutrality by the occupation of Bayreuth and Anspach. He therefore directed Augereau to remain in Swabia, on the borders of the lake of Constance; by which means any attempt to annoy the rear of the French army by the passes of the Voralberg would be kept in check, and resistance also be made to any Prussian corps that should be put in motion to operate upon his flank.

Ney at the same time was ordered to observe the motions of the army under the Archduke John, upon the right flank, whilst his left flank was protected on the side of Bohemia, by Mortier with a large force.

On the 27th the corps under Bernadotte had reached Altenmarkdt on the Inn: but, the bridge at that place having been destroyed, he found it difficult to cross the river in the face of a considerable force, advantageously posted; nor is it likely that he would have succeeded, had not another place been found practicable, by a corps of Bavarians and French, who crossed at Rothenheim, and, taking the Austrians in flank, obliged them to re-

treat,

treat, so that the bridges in this quarter were repaired without opposition.

At Muhlendorf some resistance was offered to Davoust's corps, but it was not effectual; and he was followed by Murat, who not only directed all the cavalry to cross at that place, but also ordered over the whole of the reserve: so that the whole of the French army was across the Inn by the 28th, the centre having passed on that day at Brannau, from whence the allied army proceeded by slow marches upon Vienna, followed by Napoleon in person.

At Vienna all was alarm and consternation. The inhabitants, with the utmost promptitude, began to form corps for its defence, to which they were called by an Imperial proclamation, in which their Sovereign declared his resolution to trust to the justice of his cause, and to the energy and patriotism of his subjects, to whom he promised also the powerful aid of the Russian columns now advancing to their relief. The Emperor had, however, no force adequate to the exigency of the case, although he had already drawn the whole of his troops from the line of defence of the Inn, which was now completely occupied by Napoleon's army; a division of which under Lasnes, had also taken Brannau, where they found considerable depôts of military stores and clothing, as well as of provisions, which enabled Napoleon to refit a great part of his army, which had been very slenderly equipped on leaving France at the commencement of the campaign.

No sooner had Napoleon arrived in person at Brannau, which was on the 30th of the month, than he detached Bernadotte to take possession of Saltzburgh; by which means all communication would be cut off between the capital and the Archduke Charles, whose army was then in the northern parts of Italy. At that period Saltzburgh had been occupied by a column of Russians, amounting to about 6000 men; but this force was quite insufficient to make any resistance to Bernadotte, so that they immediately retreated, followed by Kellerman, who came up and attacked them with the advance at Pasling—a strong position, but yet not capable of being maintained, so that it was soon carried by the French, who took some prisoners, and thus opened a route for Napoleon himself, who now followed at the head of his principal force,

and, by rapid marches, soon came up with the allied army, which was retiring in this direction.

On the 30th, the Austrian rear-guard, to the number of 6000, took post on the heights of Ried, where they were attacked by Murat, who charged at the head of the cavalry, and instantly broke them; yet the Austrians, anxious to secure their baggage, again formed, when a smart action took place, but ended in favour of Murat, who took about 400 prisoners; indeed, the retreat of the rear-guard was now absolutely necessary, as Napoleon with the whole of his force was in sight.

The pursuit still continued; and, on the 31st, the advance of the French army again came up with the rear of their antagonists, when another partial action took place, which enabled the allies to make good the retreat of the main body, but with a loss of 400 men, and some artillery.

The river Ems was now in front of the retreating army, and there they took post in hopes of making an effectual resistance; but this position they did not reach until the evening of the 1st of November, being all the time of their march followed by Napoleon's advance; and as he had reached Lambach soon after, where he fixed his head-quarters, he instantly prepared for storming the allied positions, the success of which would leave Vienna at his mercy. Accordingly, Marmont was ordered to Leoben to turn the allied left, whilst Murat was detached to take possession of the city of Ems; an operation of little difficulty, as the force opposed consisted only of a few hundred Austrians, who retired after a slight defence.

No sooner did the allies perceive that the movements ordered by Napoleon would have completely cut them off from the capital (for the force which had turned their left was a powerful one, whilst the whole main body was advancing in front), than they broke up from their position, and again retreated upon Vienna; whilst Napoleon ordered his whole army across the Ems, and rushed on with much impetuosity, to the great terror of the inhabitants of Vienna and its vicinity, who now saw themselves without any hopes of his progress being stopped, except by the Russian division of the allied army, which had taken a position on the heights of Amstettin, where

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a most tremendous conflict ensued, in consequence of their being attacked, not only by the cavalry under Murat, but also by the grenadiers, all of whom were now in advance, forming a strong corps under the command of Oudinot.

Though a great part of Napoleon's force had advanced to this attack, yet the Russians made a most gallant resistance, nor did they give way until they had made their assailants suffer severely; yet, at last, they were obliged to retire, with a loss of 400 killed, and upwards of 1000 taken, after which they marched slowly upon a strong position not more than ten leagues from the capital, called St. Polten, having first destroyed the bridges over the river Ips, which gave a temporary check to their pursuers.

The Austrian cabinet, alarmed at Napoleon's rapid advance, his head-quarters on the 7th of November being at Lintz, instantly dispatched the Count Guilay, in the name of the Emperor and of the Russian commander-in-chief, to request an armistice, in order to prepare the way for negotiations for peace.

The reception which Napoleon gave to the Austrian envoy was, apparently, very flattering; but his demands were exceedingly humiliating: for he required that the Emperor should send home his Russian allies; that he would order his own troops back into Hungary and Bohemia, disbanding the levy of the former kingdom; and permitting not only the Tyrol, but also the Venetian states, to be given up to French detachments.

Guilay, with a heavy heart, carried back his ultimatum; but Napoleon did not make the slightest alteration in his military projects, for he instantly directed Murat to cross the Ips, and to place his advance at the abbey of Moelk, whilst his light troops penetrated even so far as St. Polten, where the Russians were posted; and, in the mean time, he himself advanced in front with the centre of the army, consisting of the divisions of Soult and Lannes, and also of the Imperial guards. The right, under Davoust, had already made movements for turning the left of the Russians, and Mortier was on the left bank of the Danube, in full co-operation with the advancing army.

All the troops which the Emperor of Germany could collect,

collect, were now ordered to push forward for the defence of the capital; and General Meerfeldt, with a considerable force, was advancing on the side of Neustadt; but, whilst a few miles from Meminzel, he was attacked by Davoust's corps, on the 8th of November, when an obstinate and bloody action took place, ending however in the total defeat of the Austrians, who lost many killed and wounded, besides 3000 taken, together with sixteen pieces of cannon and three standards; so that it was with the greatest difficulty that the remaining fugitives were able to take shelter in the defiles of Hungary, whilst Davoust's corps pushed on for Vienna, with every facility, being now in the great road for that capital. At this moment too, it was unfortunate for the Austrian cause that Massena had such a superiority over the Archduke Charles, in Italy, that the gallant prince was obliged to fall back; yet, as his line of retreat was in the direction of Vienna, Napoleon found it necessary to guard against his movements in that quarter, and he accordingly directed both Marmont and Bernadotte to remain in force on his right flank, whilst he advanced in front upon St. Polten; where the Russians found the position no longer tenable, and accordingly determined to cross the Danube, which manœuvre they put in execution on the 9th of November, destroying the bridge of Krems as soon as they had passed over.

Napoleon now advanced to Murat's head-quarters at Moelk, from whence his road to Vienna was open; and there he received a deputation of the citizens, who came out with the humble request that he would spare their unhappy city, and treat it with lenity, as the unfortunate inhabitants were not the cause of the war. The only answer which the haughty conqueror deigned to make, was, that the inhabitants must take care not to open their gates to the Austrian or Russian army, but only to the French; he was disappointed, however, of making a prisoner of the Austrian Emperor, as that monarch, with his whole court, had retired to Brunn in Moravia; whilst the greatest part of the noblesse, and of the opulent citizens, took refuge in Hungary, though a great portion of the population, unable to retire, or anxious if possible to preserve their property from an hostile army, awaited the arrival of the conquerors, merely establishing a
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national guard for preserving the police and quiet of the city.

Napoleon's army now advanced, and was quartered in the suburbs of Vienna by the 1st of November, and on the following day. He himself did not venture to reside in the capital, but established his head-quarters about six miles distant from it, at a place called Rukersdorf; his troops, however, who were in the city, conducted themselves in a quiet and steady manner; and he still permitted the citizens to perform that part of the military police necessary for the preservation of general tranquillity.

Napoleon now took possession of all the military stores and ammunition. In the arsenal he found a quantity of artillery, which, in former wars, had been taken from the Bavarians; these he immediately restored to the Elector, and, at the same time, made him a present of 15,000 musquets; whilst, for the immediate use of his army, he made very heavy demands of cloth and wine, which the citizens were obliged to furnish.

The occupation of Vienna not having led to peace, the Austrian army having retreated into Moravia, Napoleon directed Murat to push on through the city with the advance of the army, who immediately crossed the Danube, even whilst the Austrian troops were stationed at the bridge. Prince Aversburg was the Austrian officer in command; and his orders were to defend the bridge, or to destroy it if that was impracticable. Murat, however, aware of this, played him a trick, which, even amongst the stratagems of war, was not strictly justifiable; for he rode up full speed to the Prince, and assured him, "upon his word of honour," that an armistice had been concluded. The Prince, deceived by this stratagem, and believing that he had a man of honour to deal with, neglected those steps which his duty required him to take, and the French troops came up so fast, that the destruction of the bridge became impracticable, so that the advance into Moravia, in pursuit of the Emperor and of his retreating army, was completely facilitated and secured.

Napoleon now ordered both Davoust's and Soult's corps to follow Murat, whilst part of Davoust's division, instead of pushing on for Brunn, were to march upon the

the city of Presburg, the capital of Hungary. As soon as these corps had crossed the river, Napoleon, having inspected the outposts, and appointed General Clarke governor of Austria, set off to join his advancing army, which, under the command of Murat and Lasnes, had already come up with the Russian army at Holbrunn. Previous to this an affair had taken place between the Russians and the advance under Murat and Lasnes, who, having charged at the head of the cavalry, drove their opponents from their position, and forced them to abandon a considerable quantity of their baggage.

As the rest of the French army was now coming up, there was every probability that the Russian corps would be completely annihilated; when Kutusoff, who commanded, instantly determined to gain time by a military stratagem. He dispatched General Winzingerode to ask leave for the Russian army to capitulate and leave the Austrians to their fate, an offer which was instantly acceded to by Murat; but no sooner was Napoleon informed of it, than he suspected the intention of the Russian general, and refused to agree to any suspension of arms, unless ratified by the Emperor. Some time, however, was gained by the Russians by this manœuvre, so that the principal part of their army were able to reach Guntersdorff; but here they were attacked by Napoleon, who pushed his troops on by forced marches, and, though the Russians behaved for a long time with great gallantry, repulsing their assailants in several charges, yet their left being turned by General Dupass, with a brigade of grenadiers, whilst Soult manœuvred on their right, and Lasnes attacked in front, they were at last forced to give way, and were only saved from total destruction by the approach of night, leaving 2000 prisoners, with 12 pieces of cannon, in the hands of the French, besides nearly the same number killed and wounded. This was, however, a dear-bought victory to Napoleon, as the French loss was estimated at upwards of 3000 killed and wounded, Marshal Oudinot being among the latter; but it did not impede the march of the main body, which Napoleon himself led to Znaim on the 17th, where he fixed his head-quarters, and captured all the Russian hospitals, besides a considerable depôt of provisions and forage.

On the following day he detached Sebastiani in pursuit of the retreating Russians, who came up with them, and captured upwards of 2000 of their rear-guard; whilst Murat, who had pushed on for Brunn, found it completely evacuated, and entered it without opposition, although it was a fortress of considerable strength, and might have made an obstinate resistance to a besieging army. The loss of this place to the allied cause was of great importance, whilst its occupation was of the utmost service to Napoleon, who thus became master of sixty additional pieces of heavy artillery, together with a large quantity of gunpowder, besides considerable magazines of provisions, and clothing for several thousand men.

Still, however, Kutusoff was not idle, but attempted to make a stand with the whole of his cavalry between Brunn and Olmutz; yet, as this force did not exceed 6000 men, they were unable to withstand an overwhelming detachment of the French cavalry under Bessieres, Hautpoult, and Walther, who attacked them with the greatest impetuosity; and, though the Russians fought with obstinacy the greatest part of the day, yet they were obliged to retreat under cover of the night, leaving the French army masters of the whole of that part of Moravia.

Napoleon, in order to guard against any reverse, halted the whole of his troops, and gave directions for the works at Brunn to be put in the best possible order; nor did he attempt to move forward until that object was completed, when he again advanced towards Olmutz, between which place and Wishau he found the allied army strongly posted, and strengthened by some considerable reinforcements, so that he found it necessary to take up a position at the latter place, previous to an action, which now seemed inevitable.

Before the dreadful contest took place, the Emperor of Austria dispatched his minister, Count Stadion, along with Guilay, his former envoy, for the purpose of offering pacific overtures; the Prussian cabinet also sent Count Haugwitz to offer the mediation of his sovereign. Napoleon well knew that the politics of the court of Berlin were at this time hostile to him; he therefore determined to strike whilst the object was within his reach: but he pretended to listen with a favourable ear to all the proposals;

posals; and his policy was so refined, for the purpose of throwing his adversaries off their guard, that he took measures for giving every appearance of relaxation in his own movements, and that at a period when he was preparing every thing which could insure him success.

Previous to the great battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor Alexander had, with a considerable force, joined the allied army; and, he being young and inexperienced, the crafty Napoleon immediately determined to take advantage of it. He dispatched Savary, then on his own personal staff, to present his compliments to the youthful monarch. This was the ostensible purpose of the visit; but as Savary was, most injudiciously, permitted to stop two days within the Russian lines, he became completely acquainted with the whole internal dispositions of the allied army. His report, on returning to Napoleon, was, that great confidence and presumption existed on the part of the newly-arrived Russian officers, most of whom were young men, and said to possess great influence over the Emperor. Napoleon did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance; and, in order to confirm them in their confidence, he actually gave directions for the retreat of his army on that very night, but carefully placing it in a good position, three leagues in the rear of Wischau, where he instantly began, with great apparent hurry and trepidation, to fortify himself by extensive works, as if he feared an instant attack. He now, in his turn, pretended a wish to negotiate, and accordingly requested that a confidential person should be selected on the part of the Emperor Alexander; who dispatched, for this purpose, the Prince Dolgorucki, a young nobleman of sanguine mind, upon whom Napoleon began his operations, by at first pretending that he was unwilling to let him witness the extreme assiduity with which the French were defending their entrenched camp. Nay, he even went to receive him at the outposts, as if unwilling to permit him to see the interior arrangements of his army; and so completely was the envoy deceived by these manœuvres, that he did not hesitate to offer the most extravagant demands to Napoleon, calling upon him to give up Belgium, and also to relinquish the iron crown of Italy. Napoleon was prepared for these demands, and did not even seem surprised at them; but he avoided any thing like a definitive answer,

answer, though he still affected to conceal the fears both of himself and of his army.

A policy so refined could not fail of success; and accordingly the Emperor and his whole army had no other wish than to bring the matter to an issue by a decisive action, of whose result they did not permit themselves to doubt for a moment. Each side, therefore, prepared for the great contest. The French army consisted of eight divisions of 7000 men each, to which we must add the reserve of the Imperial guards, commanded by Bessieres, which, with a corps of grenadiers under Duroc, amounted to 15,000; making, in all, a force of 71,000 veteran troops, under the command of Napoleon himself, assisted by Murat, Lasnes, Soult, Bernadotte, Davoust, and Oudinot. The allied army amounted to 70,000 men, consisting of 84 Russian, and 20 Austrian battalions of infantry, together with 105 Russian and 54 Austrian squadrons of cavalry; along with which were 40 pulks of cossacks. The Russians were commanded by General Kutusoff, and the Austrians by Prince John of Lichtenstein.

The allies being the assailants, the 1st of December was opened with their movements, which were so simultaneous, and the advance of each army was so near, that a smart firing was begun early in the morning, along the whole line; and, in the course of the forenoon, General Kienmeyer pushed on the right of the allied army, advancing his outposts as far as Sitchen, and then towards Menitz, a village which the French had occupied, but which Napoleon, in pursuance of his plan, now ordered to be abandoned; and here he was reinforced, in the course of the evening, by General Camville with five additional battalions.

The centre of the combined army was under the personal direction of Kutusoff, who dined early, and immediately ordered it to advance in five columns, in junction with the left, under the command of General Buxhowden.

Lieutenant-General Doctorow led the first column, consisting of twenty-four Russian battalions, whom he posted at the village of Hortieradat, where they were formed in two lines; whilst their communication with the rest of the army, between the foot of the mountain at Anjut and the lake of Menitz, was kept up by a regiment

of Chasseurs, so as to unite with the two lines on their right on the heights of Pratzen, where Lieutenant-General Langeron was posted with the second column, consisting of eighteen Russian battalions.

To the right of Pratzen was a third column of equal force, and commanded by General Przbyszewsky, whilst the fourth column, under General Kollowrath, with 15 Austrian battalions, was joined by 12 Russian battalions under General Miloradovitch; this latter column being so posted in two lines, in rear of the third column, as completely to command the road from Brunn to Austerlitz, whilst in their rear was the fifth column, also extending to the rear of the third, and under the immediate command of the Austrian General-in-Chief, who had with him 82 squadrons of cavalry, of which force his column alone consisted.

The Archduke Constantine of Russia, the Emperor's brother, commanded the corps of reserve. This corps was stationed on the heights which lie in front of Austerlitz, with its right bearing upon the fourth column on the road to Brunn, whilst its left extended to Krantzwitz. The reserve was formed of ten battalions of infantry, and eighteen squadrons of cavalry.

Previous to the third and fourth columns occupying the ground marked out for them, it was found necessary to detach the advance under Prince Bagration to cover them, which was done by that General pushing on in an extended line between Blasowitz and Holubitz; a manœuvre which he performed whilst General Camville was advancing to reinforce Kienmeyer upon the right; and the head-quarters for the whole army were at Krzenowitz.

Kienmeyer's division, when reinforced, consisted of 22 Austrian squadrons of cavalry, 10 Cossack squadrons, and 5 Croat battalions of infantry; and with that force he took possession in front of Anjut, which he occupied about nine o'clock at night, having put himself in motion for that purpose as soon as the corps of reserve had taken its position.

The whole of Napoleon's force was posted in massy columns, so as to be ready either to attack in column, or to extend in line for the defence of his positions, as might be necessary. His right was between Kobelnitz and

and Sokolnitz, under the command of Soult, on the flank of which was Le Grand, who occupied the villages of Kolnitz and Tellnitz with strong corps of infantry; the other parts of Soult's wing were commanded by Vandamme and St. Hilaire. The centre was rather thrown back, being posted in the village of Guschikovitz, and consisting of the divisions of Drouet and Rivaux, under the immediate command of Bernadotte, in whose rear was Murat with the cavalry; whilst the left of the whole, consisting of Suchet's and Caffarelli's divisions, under command of Lasnes, posted so as to communicate with the cavalry, was under Murat.

Such were the positions of the whole of Napoleon's army, with the exception of the reserve; which was under the command of Duroc, and posted near Turas, consisting of 10 battalions of the Imperial guard, and 10 battalions of grenadiers under Oudinot; it also had some detached corps connected with it, one of which, under the command of General Freant, was posted on the banks of the river Swartza, in a strong position at the Keygorn convent, for the purpose of observing the route from Anspitz, in case of any advance in that quarter; whilst General Gudia, who had received a reinforcement of cavalry to his division, was far advanced on Napoleon's right, in order to check any operations on the part of Count Meerveldt, who was now known to be advancing with reinforcements for the allied army from Hungary.

In the evening of the 1st of December, previous to the decisive battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon issued a proclamation to his army, in which he told them, that the Russian army, which they had before beaten at Hollebrunn, and which then fled before them, had now ventured to return in hopes of revenging the defeat of the Austrians at Ulm. This, however, he assured them, would be in vain, for the French army now occupied such a formidable position, that if the allied army dared to advance to the attack of the right, as seemed to be their intention, then they must inevitably expose their flank to the French columns in that direction. As for himself, he promised to be every where, and to direct the movements of all the columns, at the same time pledging himself, that if victory should for a moment become doubtful,

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he would, in person, expose himself in the front of the battle. Victory, however, he considered so certain, that he promised them this should be the last action of the campaign, after which a peace should follow, which would be worthy of France, of the army, and of himself!

In addition to this, he left nothing unessayed to ensure the confidence of his troops; in particular, he visited all the outposts, apparently *incognito*, but so as to be easily recognized by the troops, who received him in all quarters with the loudest acclamations.

Nor were the allies idle during the night; for every thing was arranged for the proposed attack soon after midnight; when the dispositions were delivered to all the general officers and heads of corps. It is said, indeed, that the imperfect knowledge which they possessed of the positions of Napoleon's army, though little more than a musquet-shot distant, rendered the suppositions, upon which the plan of attack was arranged, extremely indefinite: for it was believed that Napoleon had weakened his centre considerably for the reinforcement of the left; whilst, under the idea that the Austrian left had far outflanked his right wing, they imagined that by passing the defiles of Kobelnitz and Sokolnitz, they would turn his positions in that quarter, so as to be enabled afterwards to prosecute the attack in the plain between the wood of Turas, and the town of Schlapanitz. They also considered that Napoleon's real front was covered by the defiles of Schlapanitz and Bellowitz; but, by the proposed plan, these defiles would be avoided; and it was also intended that the attack should commence on the right; in order to execute which, with the utmost vigour, the valley between Sokolnitz and Tellnitz was to be promptly passed over under cover of the Prince John of Lichtenstein's cavalry, and the advanced corps of Prince Bagration, which corps formed the extreme of the allied right.

Prince John, in compliance with this plan, was to take possession of a plain which lies between Schlapanitz and Krug, through which runs a long causeway, and, at the same time, he was to order his artillery to occupy some heights near Dwaroschua, a movement which he put in execution as soon as the five columns of attack began to advance,

advance, which was not, however, before seven o'clock in the morning, when a simultaneous movement took place, the whole descending from the heights of Pratzen into the valley.

The French had been prepared for the attack at a much earlier hour; for day had scarcely dawned, when Napoleon took post on a commanding position, surrounded by all his generals. There he waited with the utmost impatience, until the sun appeared. As soon as his first beams broke on the gloom of night, he issued his final orders, when the whole of his generals set off at full gallop to their destined posts, after which he passed rapidly in front of the line, whilst the hills resounded with the acclamations of the soldiery.

No sooner did the allied army begin to move, than Napoleon, watching all their manœuvres, waited in silence for their advance, in order to take advantage of such circumstances as the nature of the ground might render disadvantageous to them.

Such, indeed, was the state of the intermediate space, that the allied army, on its approach through the different defiles in front of Kobelnitz, Sokolnitz, and Tellnitz, was obliged to leave some very large intervals, which also increased as they advanced, particularly on their left, where the battle first began, by a movement of General Kienmeyer's, who being farthest in advance and in front of Anjut, now marched with the intention of forcing the defile of Tellnitz.

This defile was covered by the village of that name; and it was impossible for the first column of the allied army to advance, so as to communicate in line with the second, until a passage should be opened by the possession of the village, in front of which a height was occupied by a detachment of infantry from Napoleon's right. This height it was then necessary should be instantly attacked: but, in this attempt Kienmeyer was twice repulsed; nor did he carry it, until General Stutterheim had advanced with a reinforcement of two fresh battalions. The contest here was severe; and the loss fell particularly heavy on the Austrian cavalry, who were obliged to advance through vineyards and other inclosures round the village, and which had been previously lined with some picked corps of French tirailleurs: nor did

did the possession of the heights oblige the French to evacuate the village; indeed, they still held it for upwards of an hour, until Kienmeyer, was reinforced by a Russian column under Buxhowden, when they were forced to retire.

This, however, was a post of too much consequence to be easily yielded; and accordingly Davoust instantly detached 4000 men, from that corps stationed at the Keygorn convent, under Freant; which, soon after, obtained possession of both the village and the height, under cover of a thick fog which had just come on in that quarter. For some time a pause ensued; but the fog clearing up, the allied left advanced in great force, when the French were obliged, once more, to evacuate the post, so that the assailants not only passed the defile without further opposition, but also formed in the plain between Turas and Tellnitz, according to the proposed plan.

It was expected that the second and third columns would now be in communication with the first advanced column; but it appears not only that considerable difficulties had been opposed to them by Le Grand's corps, which occupied Sokolnitz, but also that some confusion had taken place in their movements, so that the junction did not take place at the time and place expected. By this means, the advanced corps of the allied left remained without its intended support, a circumstance which did not pass unobserved by Napoleon, whose troops had hitherto remained upon the defensive, with the exception of the movement of part of Davoust's corps upon Tellnitz: he therefore waited patiently for the expected want of concert and consistency in the manœuvres of the allied armies, particularly as he saw that the further advance of their left, which was still continued, produced a greater separation of the left and centre, in consequence of the circuitous route which the direction of the defiles required. This was the very point for which he waited; and, in order to be ready to avail himself of it, he instantly put some of his massy columns in motion, intending to push through the interval of the allied line, and thus cut off the wing in advance completely from the rest of the army. In this manœuvre, too, he was greatly assisted by the ignorance
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of the allied generals respecting the extent of his positions; for, as they imagined that his army was in line, and not in column, they supposed his right to extend much further than it really did, under which idea the first column had been directed to take a route much more circuitous than was absolutely necessary.

Napoleon's reserve, as already noticed, was posted in the rear, upon some heights which lie between Kobelwitz and Schlapanitz; though in a great measure within the line of attack, this reserve was hitherto disengaged, and had not fired a single shot, when part of the French columns began to advance under Soult, who, with Vandamme's and St. Hilaire's divisions, now pushed on through the villages of Puntwitz and Kobelwitz, in order to make an assault upon the village and heights of Pratzen, a position occupied by the allies previous to the attack.

The moment was now most important, and Napoleon instantly put the greatest part of his troops in motion; and, as the possession of the heights of Blasowitz must tend much to the discomfiture of the allies, he ordered Bernadotte to pass the rivulet at the village of Guschecowitz, whilst Davoust's division on his right, and Rivaud's on his left, advanced in the same direction, in order to keep up his communication.

The whole centre and right also of the allies became now completely engaged in all directions; not so much by their own advance, as by the advance of several of Napoleon's columns; for Lasnes had now pushed as far as to the left of Bernadotte, with Caffarelli's division on his right and Suchet's upon his left, whilst Murat filled up the interval with his cavalry, advancing in full pace between Krug and Gerschecowitz.

The heights of Krug, which are close to those of Blasowitz, it was intended to occupy with the reserve of the allied right, consisting of the Russian guards under the Archduke Constantine. That Prince previously occupied the heights of Austerlitz; but no sooner had he left that position, and advanced towards Krug, than he found himself unexpectedly engaged with General Kellerman, who had advanced with part of Murat's division of cavalry, as well as with the tirailleurs of Rivaud's division, who were now well in front. Promptitude of movements now became absolutely necessary, in order

to fulfil that part of the plan so unexpectedly opposed; the Archduke therefore pushed on a part of his force, consisting principally of the light battalion of the Imperial guards, himself at their head, in order to occupy Blasowitz before the French would arrive at it; and in this movement he was covered by Prince John of Lichtenstein's cavalry: but this latter officer now found himself obliged to detach ten squadrons of his force in order to cover the left flank of Bagration's corps, which was then assailed by part of the French cavalry of Murat's advance. With the remainder of his corps, Prince John hastened up to the assistance of the Archduke, whom he found with Kellerman's cavalry in his front, whilst part of the infantry of the divisions of Lasnes and Bernadotte supported them in force. The moment was critical, and a charge was instantly determined on, which was begun in a fine style by the Archduke's battalion of light infantry. They advanced, however, with too much precipitancy, which the French took advantage of; for the cavalry, by Kellerman's order, refusing the charge, and retiring through the intervals of the infantry, the allied cavalry were tempted to pursue them, by which means they were completely taken in flank by Rivaud's and Caffarelli's divisions; and the loss in consequence, from a cross fire, was so great, that they left 400 Uhlans behind them; whilst the Archduke's infantry, no longer supported by them, was completely routed in its attempted charge, and forced to fly until it came back upon Bagration's positions, which were near the advance of Pororsitz, to which he had moved, occupying the villages of Holubitz and Krug with some battalions of Russian infantry, in order to check any advance from Kovalowitz, where part of Lasnes's division was posted.

These extended movements, on both flanks of the allied army, had now reduced their centre to little more than 12,000 men; a fact well known to Napoleon, who was waiting for these events with about 24,000 men, in heavy columns, and that too without weakening his own left, which was still in sufficient force to oppose any attempt of the allies in that direction. His troops, being principally in column, were now able to advance in force, particularly against the allied centre, which, though almost separated from its wings, had begun to advance
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about eight in the morning, an hour after the advance on the left, but they did not venture on this movement until the Emperor Alexander came up, at the head of the fourth column, accompanied by Kollowrath, the Austrian general. The centre now formed into line, and began to move by platoons to the left: but scarcely had they broke ground, when the divisions of St. Hilaire and Vandamme, now forming a heavy column, and stationed in a bottom in front of Pratzen, were seen for the first time by the commander-in-chief, Kutusoff, who was indeed completely taken by surprise, as hitherto he had imagined the allied army to be the actual assailants in all parts of the line. The tables were thus completely turned against him; and, finding himself actually attacked in consequence of this forward movement of Soult, he judged it absolutely necessary to re-occupy the heights of Pratzen, as Soult was in full march towards them, and their possession was of the utmost importance to both parties; for Pratzen was the key of that position from which the allied army had just debouched; and such was their now hazardous situation, from the separated state of the different columns, that their very existence depended upon retaining possession of the position. No sooner therefore was intelligence brought to Kutusoff of the advance of Soult's column, than he gave directions to shew a front, and at the same time directed a part of his force to return to the heights. Aware that his centre was too weak for both these operations, he also sent to Prince John for reinforcements, which general dispatched four regiments of Russian infantry, whose arrival was not delayed, as the distance yet between Prince John's corps and the fourth column of the allies, was not very considerable. But part of Bernadotte's corps was now in communication with Soult's column; and had actually at this moment made its appearance on the right of Pratzen; when the corps of reinforcements from Prince John was instantly ordered in the same direction, as Bernadotte's corps seemed intending to push for the interval between Prince John and the fourth column*.

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* On this occasion Soult commanded the right wing of the army; and early in the day, we are told, upon the authority of General Sarrazin, that Napoleon sent him an order for an immediate attack, and that he should

Some of the allied troops were at this moment in Pratzen; and a small reinforcement from the Russian infantry was detached to co-operate with their advance on a hill in front of that village. This force was, however, too small to defend it, and accordingly was obliged to give way before the head of Soult's column, which advanced slowly and steadily to that position; so that the Russians had no chance left but that of a general attack, which was accordingly commenced: but it is said that they opened their fire at too great a distance, whilst Soult's column continued to move on without firing a shot, until within an hundred paces of their opponents, when they poured in such a destructive fire of musquetry, as completely to check the Russian line, after which they instantly rushed on for the heights in several lines, and immediately occupied them, resting their right on the highest ground whilst their left was posted in the village close to the church.

This brilliant manœuvre was followed by a most masterly disposition on the part of Soult; who, finding his right flank threatened by a brigade of the third column under General Kaminskoy, which, in its separation from its own corps, was still enabled to deploy in front upon Pratzen, instantly formed his column in an angular direction, so as to shew two fronts to the two corps which threatened him.

Here Soult remained, and sustained repeated attacks

should possess himself instantly of the heights of Pratzen. To the aides-du-camp who brought this order Soult answered, that he would commence the attack as soon as he could do it successfully, but that it was not yet time; but no sooner was this reply brought back to Napoleon, than he was filled with the utmost rage, and immediately sent another aide-du-camp, who arrived precisely at the moment when Soult had ordered his division to advance, a movement which he had only delayed until the Russians should extend their line so far to the left as to weaken their centre. So well-timed was Soult's movement, that all who opposed his march were either killed or taken; and Napoleon being on a height from whence he could plainly discern all the manœuvres of the army, was so charmed with the precision and brilliant results of Soult's prudence and spirit, that he set off towards him at full gallop, and, in the presence of his staff, which but a few minutes before had witnessed his extreme irritation against the general, he embraced him, and exclaimed loudly, "My Lord Marshal Soult! I esteem you as the most able tactician of my empire!"—"Sire! I believe it," replied Soult, "since your Majesty has the goodness to tell me so!"

of the allies, who were anxious to regain the heights, as a post of the last importance. The Emperor Alexander himself displayed the greatest energy ; he not only accompanied the infantry of his own column, during the most tremendous moments of this arduous and almost desperate conflict, but also, with consummate judgment, actually advanced with his own battalion in order to turn Soult's right flank, whilst Kollowrath, according to Kutusoff's orders, was occupied in harassing his left.

In order to press harder on all quarters upon Soult's position, a part of the Russian reserve, consisting of two regiments, were now directed, not having yet been engaged, to proceed towards that part of the third column which, under Kaminskoy, was now menacing the right of the French column ; but Soult was most advantageously posted, and the nature of his ground now permitted him to keep his troops much under cover from the allied fire, even whilst the allies were exposed both to his artillery and musquetry. His movements, too, being in part concealed by the broken nature of the position, the allies were checked in every assault ; so that they had no alternative left, for the recovery of this important position, but an attack with the bayonet, a resource of such a desperate nature as only to be justified by the imperative circumstances of the case.

The assailants were therefore concentrated in massive bodies, and a general charge took place ; but in their advance they were completely mowed down by the heavy and well-directed fire of the French. A most dreadful scene of carnage now took place ; but the allies still advanced, most gallantly led, on their right, by General Miloradovitch ; however, as two of the other leading generals, Berg and Reprinsky, were wounded before bayonets were crossed, a part of the line wavered, and the slaughter increased. Destruction now seemed certain to the left of the assailants, had not some of their officers gallantly rallied, and again led them on ; and that with such effect, as to force the part of the French line opposed to them in their turn to give way, so that Soult was obliged to change his defensive plan, and himself become the assailant.

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This he did with such rapidity, that the whole corps of the allies opposed to him instantly gave way, and fell back upon the remains of the fourth column; but Soult having now brought up his artillery in front, the fire became so destructive, that, after a contest of two hours, the whole of that column was in rapid retreat, leaving behind them great part of their artillery, which the heavy clay rendered it impossible for them to move along with sufficient celerity, and they retired in the utmost confusion to the heights of Harspitz and Hodiegetz, where they endeavoured to collect their scattered forces.

The fate of the centre of the allied army might now be considered as decided; and so rapid had been the advance both of the French infantry on the wings, and of the cavalry under Murat, that a difficult task fell to the lot of Prince John of Lichtenstein, who was obliged to detach his cavalry to both flanks, in order, if possible, to check Napoleon's progress. Under cover of this arm, he also attempted to rally several Austrian corps now in considerable confusion; but having his horse killed with a grape-shot, some delay took place in his arrangements, and little more was done by his corps during the remainder of the day, except to occupy the ground at the foot of the heights of Pratzen, and also the village of Rozenovitz.

In other quarters the battle still raged, particularly at the village of Blasowitz, which had for some time been occupied by the Russians under the Archduke Constantine. To this post Bernadotte had now advanced with a strong force, where the Archduke was in possession of a position on some heights easily defensible; from these, however, he thought proper to descend as soon as he saw the French columns advancing, covered by numerous sharp-shooters, whose fire was so galling, that he found it at last necessary to advance in line, and to force them back with the bayonet on the main bodies.

No sooner had this charge taken place, than a sharp cannonade commenced, in which the grape-shot caused dreadful carnage on both sides; and the Archduke's corps now advancing upon the French columns, the cavalry of their guards, who had come on in the interval of the infantry, then rushed forward, charging the whole Russian line, which, after a brave and inefficacious resistance, was obliged to retire.

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Whilst these operations were going on at Blasowitz, Marshal Lasnes was manœuvring upon the allied right, in heavy columns, and his advance had now enabled him to interpose between General Uwarrow, who was at Holubitz with a strong corps of cavalry, and Prince Bagration, who had taken post in front of Posornitz: a manœuvre which enabled him not only to prevent the junction of those two corps, but also to occupy a very commanding eminence on the road to Brunn, the possession of which had been one of the objects of Bagration's movements, but which Lasnes now strengthened with a regiment of infantry, and no less than eighteen pieces of artillery, so as completely to secure any advance of the left wing in case of disaster.

No sooner were these arrangements made, than Lasnes again advanced in column, supported by part of Murat's cavalry, in order to drive Bagration from his position at Posornitz; a manœuvre in which he finally succeeded, in consequence of the villages of Krug and Holubitz being occupied by the corps sent to attack General Uwarrow, when the Prince retreated upon the right of Rauswitz, a post which he was able to maintain for some hours, the advance of Lasnes being now checked by General Ulanus and a strong corps of Russian cavalry, with a degree of promptitude and gallantry highly commendable. General Uwarrow also, though forced from his positions, was still able to make a slow retreat with his cavalry, so that it was not until late in the evening that Bagration commenced his retreat, in the most orderly manner, upon the rear of Austerlitz.

The heights of Austerlitz had been for some time occupied by Prince John with a great proportion of the allied cavalry; but this concentration of the allied line upon Austerlitz had completely laid open the road to Wishau, so that no opposition was made to the advance of several corps, which Napoleon had ordered in that quarter, and who were thus enabled to take possession of the principal part of the baggage of the allied army, whose right and centre were also completely driven in from their extended line, whilst their left were suffering severe reverses, from neglecting to pursue that system of concentration voluntarily to which the right had been forced.

The fact is, that the possession of the heights of Pratzen had now given Soult a commanding position with respect to the first three columns of the allies, who had advanced by Tellnitz and Sokolnitz, and who, by their unnecessary extension beyond the right of the French columns, had permitted the advance of Soult to cut them off from the other parts of their line. This error on the part of the allied left, by entangling them in defiles whose line led them further from the scene of action in proportion as they advanced in front, was the grand point on which Napoleon had depended for eventual success; for though their force was considerable (consisting of fifty-five battalions, together with Kaminskoy's brigade, which was destined to keep in check part of Davoust's corps, together with the brigade of Le Grand), yet Napoleon well knew that its insulated position must place it upon the most unfavourable terms with respect to any defensive resistance, as soon as he could spare troops for that purpose. That period was approaching; and it was even early in the day, and soon after the occupation of Pratzen by Soult, that a part of the allied left was so completely surrounded, as to oblige a corps of 6000 men at Sokolnitz to surrender *en masse*, with the whole of the numerous artillery in that quarter. This corps was part of the first column; and the second column being also broken, now began to fall back upon Anjut in great disorder, where a small part of the first column was still in some force, having proceeded so far in its march with the intent of reinforcing the allied centre.

This proposed movement was undoubtedly a judicious one, and might have even turned the fate of the day, had not the column been led on in a wrong direction, so that it was unable to undertake the proposed co-operation, and had no other alternative than to make a stand at Anjut, whither General Buxhowden was also marching.

The fate of the allied left may here be considered as decided; for they were now opposed by the French reserve, then for the first time brought forward by Napoleon himself, to the amount of twenty fresh battalions, which hitherto had not been engaged, but now occupied the whole brow of the heights, where the allies had been
posted

posted in the early part of the day. Their line now extended from the chapel above Anjut as far as Pratzen, though they had not yet brought up their artillery in any great force: but no sooner did Napoleon find that the first column had arrived at Anjut, than he ordered Vandamme's division to advance, which was done with the utmost rapidity; in short, they rushed like a torrent upon the village, of which, after a short resistance, they took possession, capturing upwards of 4000 men, besides artillery, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that General Buxhowden was enabled to rejoin the broken remains of the allies at Austerlitz.

So rapid had been the preceding movements, that the fate of the day may be considered as decided so early as two in the afternoon. In fact, the advance of Vandamme's corps may be considered the last decisive movement of the general battle; in which all parties fought well, notwithstanding the injudiciousness of the movements upon the part of the allies, whose cavalry, during the whole of what may be called a scene of confusion, are described as having behaved with the greatest courage.

The left wing of the allies, harassed and fatigued as it was, effected its retreat to Newhoff to the amount of about 8000 men; but there they found it impossible to remain, although it was then four o'clock in a cold, dark, winter's night; and they continued their retreat upon Boscowitz, which place they did not reach until the next morning, leaving the whole of their artillery behind them in consequence of the almost impassable state of the roads, a heavy and continued rain having fallen during the whole of the night.

In the course of the night, the whole of the allied army was in some measure concentrated behind Austerlitz, being principally posted at Holregetz, very much reduced in numbers, and in artillery, whilst Napoleon with his victorious bands occupied those heights from which they had been driven. He was now in possession, not only of the field of battle, but also of the greatest part of the allied artillery and baggage, besides forty standards and a great number of prisoners; independent of which, it is said that the wounded left upon the field were so numerous that they could not all be dressed until two days after the battle.

Napoleon now took measures for following up his victory. He detached Murat on the 3d of December with the cavalry as far as Kremsin, whilst Lasnes was ordered to turn the right flank of the allied army in the direction of Stanitz; and Bernadotte and Soult directed the cutting off the retreat towards Hungary with the reserve, Davoust at the same time turning the allied left flank by the route of Anspitz.

Dispirited by his reverses, and anticipating the worst consequences from a prolongation of the war, the Emperor Francis sent Prince John of Lichtenstein to Napoleon's head-quarters, to propose an armistice, and an interview between himself and Napoleon. They accordingly met in the open air, near a mill, close by the road side, and not far from the village of Nasidlowitz. The interview lasted a long time; and Napoleon, flushed with victory, insisted that his own army should remain in possession of its present conquests, until the ratification of a definitive treaty, or until the rupture of the negotiations, which however was not to be followed by hostile operations for the space of fourteen days. He also demanded that the Russian army should evacuate all the Austrian states instantly, by a prescribed route; and that Austria should engage to discontinue the Hungarian levies, and should promise not to admit any foreign army into her territories; and also that a diplomatic meeting should instantly take place at Nicholsburg, in order to prepare the definitive treaty. To all these conditions the Emperor Francis was obliged to assent; after which he returned to his head-quarters. Napoleon also stipulated that General Savary should accompany the Austrian officer who was to be detached to the Russian Emperor with the issue of this interview.

The Emperor Alexander received them with politeness, but refused to sanction the insulting proposals; he found it however necessary to put in practice that line of conduct for which Napoleon had stipulated, and accordingly directed his whole army to commence its march homeward on the 6th of December, whilst Napoleon deputed Talleyrand, as his representative, to meet Prince John of Lichtenstein, in order to perfect his various diplomatic arrangements in the treaty of Nicholsburg. Thus ended, by a glorious triumph to the arms of Napoleon,

pooleon, a war which at first threatened the extinction of his power. His promptitude and decision were manifestly displayed in its progress; and from his policy, as well as his conduct in the field, he was indebted for all the advantages which he now possessed; for although the allied army had suffered so signal a defeat at Austerlitz, yet their force was so far from being annihilated, that they were still in a formidable condition. The Archduke Ferdinand, who commanded a corps of 20,000 Austrians in Bohemia, had actually, before he received intelligence of the armistice, attacked and defeated, with considerable loss, a corps of Bavarians under General Wrede: immediately after this success, he advanced rapidly in the rear of Napoleon's army, and almost at the very same instant the Archduke Charles had made his appearance from the side of Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, with an army in the highest order and amounting to 80,000 men.

Of these circumstances there is no doubt that Napoleon was well aware; and it is very rationally believed that if the Emperor of Austria had not been so precipitate in the pacific arrangements, the fortune of war might have taken a very different direction, and Austria might have obtained terms much more honourable than those to which she was forced to submit. Napoleon's genius, however, succeeded; and in this instance, as well as in many others, shewed, that in the cabinet, he could not only guard against the dangers, but also repair the disasters of the field.

The battle of Austerlitz, so fatal to the the allies, was immediately followed by the treaty of Presburg, by which Austria was compelled to give up a considerable portion of her ancient possessions as the price of peace. Shortly after the ratification of this treaty, Napoleon had an interview with the Archduke Charles of Austria, in the neighbourhood of Vienna, to which city he had now removed his head-quarters.

After this he left the Austrian capital, and proceeded towards Paris, but stopped at Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where he had arranged a matrimonial union between the Princess of Bavaria, and his son-in-law Eugene Beauharnois. At the Bavarian court he stopped upwards of a fortnight; and, in compliment to the union, not only

declared Eugene his adopted son, but also announced him to be his successor in the kingdom of Italy. His reception at Munich, as might naturally be expected, was extremely flattering, and the grossest adulation was offered to him without scruple. He was compared to Titus; and it was said, that of all persons who had worn the Imperial purple, the one most resembling to Napoleon was Titus, because Titus had been called "the delight of the human race;" and, to convey to him this pleasing discovery in a manner sufficiently delicate not to wound his modesty, the Opera of "*La Clemenza de Tito*," from the pen of Metastasio, was performed in his presence, at the Theatre Royal at Munich, when, as was stated, "all eyes were instantly directed to the Titus of France, and all voices raised in prayers for his life and happiness."

The remainder of his journey to his capital was a continuation of this gross flattery, and in all places he enjoyed similar homage and adoration.

On the 26th of January 1806, he arrived in the French capital; where he found the people completely intoxicated and dazzled with his splendid victories, and offering, without reserve, every species of flattery that the imagination could invent. Soon after his arrival he convoked the legislative bodies, on which occasion he made a pompous display of his victories; and on the 5th of March, his minister made an extraordinary *Exposé*, in which a statement was given of the condition of the French empire. In this document two new cities were promised to the French, both to be called Napoleon Ville; one of them *to be raised* in the Morbihan, and the other in La Vendée. It was also stated that the Port Buonaparte, which was to be worthy of its name, would soon be an object of terror to England.

The aggrandizement of his family was now the principal object of Napoleon's attention; and he notified to the legislature, that he was about to marry his niece Stephanie Beauharnois to the young Prince of Baden, the same prince whose union he had prevented with the Princess of Bavaria. He also informed them at the same time of the annexation of the Venetian territories to the kingdom of Italy, and of his conferring the kingdom of Naples upon Joseph Buonaparte, together

gether with his formation of the grand-duchies of Berg, Guastalla, &c.

It would extend this work to too great a length, if we were to enumerate all the acts of aggression committed by Napoleon, in furtherance of that system which he had adopted of extending his sway over the European states. The effects of that policy, which he as well as his predecessors had followed, of dividing the European powers, and exciting jealousies amongst them, began now to operate to the destruction of the most powerful of them; and Prussia in particular, whose narrow views had contributed to lay the continent at the feet of Napoleon, was now to experience, in her turn, the bitter fruits of her selfishness.

After the humiliation of Austria, whose misfortunes might have been averted by the prompt co-operation of the King of Prussia, Napoleon, ever active to extend his power and consolidate his empire, founded, upon the ruins of the German empire, that remarkable confederacy of states known by the name of the Confederation of the Rhine. This formidable association, at the head of which was Napoleon, threatened the entire extinction of every power which dared to oppose the views of the ambitious Emperor; and Prussia, when too late, saw in these plans the destruction of her independence, if not her entire overthrow.

Notwithstanding the alarming measure which Napoleon had now taken, and his power to enforce it in spite of any opposition, he yet thought it prudent to cajole Prussia, and to soothe her alarms. He accordingly promised to the cabinet of Berlin, that he would consent to her forming a confederation in the North, similar to that of the Rhine; a combination which was really become necessary to her very existence. But no sooner had he accomplished his plans, and consolidated his power, than he plainly intimated to the Prussian cabinet that he would not allow her to include the Hanseatic towns in her confederacy. He also told her, that although not averse to the plan of a northern confederacy, yet his regard to justice, and respect for the law of nations, would not allow him to witness any compulsion that might be used to make independent princes become members of it against their will; in particular, the wise prince

prince who governed Saxony, not being inclined to contract new obligations, it was impossible that he could see him enslaved, or forced to act against the interests of his people. As for Hesse Cassel, the Elector of that state was informed, by the French minister at his court, that it was impossible for Prussia to do any thing for her allies, and therefore Napoleon invited him to join his own Confederation of the Rhine; in return for which he promised him those dominions which still remained in the hands of the illustrious House of Orange. The further objects of Prussia, also, in the occupation of Swedish Pomerania were frustrated; so that, completely duped and left to herself, she found herself once more on the eve of hostilities with France, without an ally, and almost without a friend, or the prospect of obtaining one, except for political reasons, which might induce England or Russia to engage in a mutual co-operation.

The cabinet of Berlin, relying upon the support of England and Russia, now determined on war, knowing that longer to delay it would give strength to Napoleon; and whilst she made secretly every preparation for this event, she also practised every expedient to gain time.

At last, after considerable diplomatic intrigue had been practised on both sides, and war became inevitable, Napoleon, on the 21st of September, sent orders to all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine to furnish their contingents; and, on the 24th, he himself set off from Paris to take the command of the army, which was hastening in all directions to the scene of action.

The preparations of Prussia were formidable, and corresponded to the importance of the occasion. Her army was commanded by the Duke of Brunswick; and early in October its principal magazines were collected at Naumburg, whilst its line extended along the Saale, from which position it moved forward, and had its headquarters at Weimar on the 10th, the whole being distributed in the following order. General Ruchel had the command of the right wing, which was posted as far as Muhlhausen, and in communication with the centre; the centre was under the immediate orders of the Duke of Brunswick in chief, accompanied by Marshal Mollendorf and the Prussian monarch himself, and was quartered from Erfurt to Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach;

nach; whilst the left occupied Saalfeld, Hof, and Schleitz, under the immediate orders of Prince Hohenlohe, assisted by General Tauenzien, and accompanied by Prince Lewis of Prussia. At Custrin, Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg had the command of the reserve. The whole army amounted to about 150,000 men, including the Saxon troops, which, either by choice or compulsion, had joined the Prussians.

So intent was Napoleon upon striking an immediate blow, that, only two days after his arrival to take the command of his army, he ordered all the corps to advance by a simultaneous movement towards the Prussian position, which was so strong in front as to be considered almost impregnable in that quarter, though rather unprotected on their flanks, where their magazines were open to the assaults of an enterprising enemy.

On the 8th of October, Napoleon advanced with his whole force in three divisions, in order to attack the dépôts of the Prussian army at Naumburg, at Weissenfels, and Zwickau, and Hoff, which were left exposed; and he knew that if he was once possessed of these magazines, he could either starve the Prussians in their strong position, or force them to leave it and fight at a disadvantage; for, in the post which that army occupied, particularly in the barren districts round Weimar, forage was so extremely scarce, that from this period up to the decisive battle of Jena, the cavalry horses, as well as the artillery, were without corn, and had very little of any other kind of food, nay, it is asserted, that the occupation of their magazines actually left the troops without bread, beer, or brandy, for some days, and totally without food for two nights and a day previous to the battle. Movements, whose results were likely to be of such importance, could not be neglected by Napoleon, whose military eye fully appreciated the consequences of the fatal error in the Prussian tactics; for their army being now stationed on the left bank of the Saale, they not only exposed the dominions of their ally, the Elector of Saxony, but even their own strong places to the assaults of an active enemy.

The first movement of Napoleon was directed against the left of the Prussian army, whose position was so extended as to be weak in all points. Marshals Soult and
Ney

Ney were ordered to advance in that direction: these two generals had two strong French corps under their command, besides a corps of Bavariaus; and these, having joined at Bayreuth, advanced upon Hof, still communicating with the centre of Napoleon's army, which was under the immediate command of Murat and Bernadotte.

No sooner did the right of the French, under Soult, advance upon the Prussian left, than the most distant part of the line found it necessary to evacuate Hof and its vicinity, falling back upon Schleitz, in the direct route of the French centre, and leaving the French in possession of the whole of the magazines at that dépôt. After which, Soult pushed forward for Plauen, in Upper Saxony, arriving there on the 10th, followed by Ney; whilst the centre of Napoleon's force was occupied in the passage of the river Saale at Salburg; an operation which they put in force on the 9th, advancing the same day to Schleitz, where they found General Tauenzien posted with a Prussian corps, amounting to about 10,000 men, with which he attempted to make some resistance, but being repulsed with considerable loss, he fell back: so that Napoleon, by the 11th, was in a position to make an attack upon the principal magazines of the Prussian force at Naumburg.

The left of the French army under Lasnes, having reached Coburg on the 9th, pushed on for Graffenthal on the following day, and on the 10th came in sight of Saalfeld, where the bridge, the principal point of defence, was entrusted to Prince Lewis of Prussia. That young officer, however, with more gallantry than prudence, abandoned his strong position, and advanced to attack Lasnes; but he was completely defeated, with a loss of 600 killed, many wounded, 1000 prisoners, and 30 pieces of artillery; the prince himself falling in the battle.

Napoleon, by his rapidity of movement, had thus turned both flanks of his opponents; and, in fact, had cut off the communication between Berlin and Dresden, and the main Prussian force. The consternation and dismay that now prevailed at the Prussian head-quarters was very great: nor would they believe it possible, that Napoleon's advance could have been so rapid, until the night of the 12th of October, after the advance of part of the
centre

centre under Davoust to Naumburg; when the burning of the magazines by that general, at last, convinced them that Napoleon was rushing on in all quarters, determined to destroy that which he could not occupy, and to reduce them to the necessity of fighting him for their very existence.

Finding it impossible to avoid a battle, the Prussians spent the whole of the 13th in making preparations for it. Their position was considered almost impregnable; and Napoleon found himself only separated from them by the heights of the Saale, which formed the main part of the Prussian defence. To advance in front would have been madness; his only move, therefore, was by the flanks; but even that would have been impracticable, if the Prussians had defended the important passes of the Saale. This, however, they neglected, merely occupying the line of the high road from Jena towards Weimar, an oversight which Napoleon did not let pass unnoticed; for no sooner did he find that the military movements of the Prussian army, on the 13th, had left those passes unoccupied, than he gave orders for a night march to those positions, transporting artillery for their occupation with the greatest rapidity and silence, so that by dawn of day on the 14th he was in a position to commence a cannonade upon the most elevated posts of the Prussian army, points which they had considered as impregnable. The pass of Raukthal, which was nearest to the Prussian line, and which was only to be approached by another difficult one at Swetzen, had been so neglected that part of the French actually penetrated within 300 paces of one of the Prussian columns, before it was even imagined that an attempt had been made to advance upon them in this quarter.

On the morning of the 14th, the day on which the great battle of Jena was fought, Napoleon's whole force was under arms by break of day. Soon after which, a heavy fog having arose, prevented hostilities from taking place for a short time; but the fog having cleared up, the battle commenced, by Napoleon ordering possession to be taken of a small village in front, from whence the Prussians in vain attempted to dislodge the French battalions; for the two divisions of Soult and Lasnes now advanced,

the former with the intent of occupying a wood in which a Prussian corps was posted, and the other in order to support the advance in the contested village.

Augereau, also, at the same time advanced, so that the action, in less than an hour, became general along the whole line; for the Prussian right had now, with great gallantry, pushed on, as if with the intention of turning his flank, which made it necessary for that officer to bring his force forward something sooner than Napoleon had intended.

It would greatly exceed our limits, were we to detail every military operation which took place in this great and important battle, in which there were between 250 and 300,000 men, with 7 or 800 pieces of artillery, scattering death and destruction in every direction, and exhibiting one of the most awful scenes which the mind could contemplate. The Prussian infantry, though worn down with hunger and privations, from the loss of their magazines, behaved, through the whole of the day, with their usual firmness and courage; but their cavalry, from their long want of forage, were so reduced as to be wholly unable to withstand the vigorous charge of the French horse.

Although the Prussians and Saxons manœuvred as on a field-day, under showers of grape and musquetry, yet their steadiness could not avail against the rapidity of the French movements, supported as they were by the rapid advance of their artillery. The moment now became most critical; and, at the end of a contest of two hours for the wood in front, Soult at last succeeded in carrying it, when he again advanced, on which Napoleon directed the whole second line in reserve to advance, when the cavalry and infantry both fell into the intervals of the first line, which being thus reinforced by fresh troops, the Prussians, unable to withstand the impetuosity of their movements, were soon forced to retire in great disorder. Though broken and retreating, the Duke of Brunswick succeeded in rallying them; but he was, unfortunately, at this moment wounded in the face by a grape shot, and obliged to leave the field. Although the Prussian army rallied, and renewed the contest for nearly an hour after this unfortunate event, they were unable to withstand a charge made by Murat at the head of the dragoons

dragoons and cuirasseurs of the reserve; and, being broken and dispersed, they were forced to fly in all directions towards Weimar, closely pursued by the French, and leaving their artillery and every thing behind them.

The loss of the Prussians in this great and decisive battle, so fatal to the monarchy, according to the statement of Napoleon, amounted to 20,000 killed and wounded, and the prisoners to nearly 40,000, amongst the former of whom were 20 general officers: 60 standards, and 300 pieces of artillery were also taken. He stated his own loss to be only 4000 killed, and 3000 wounded.

Napoleon lost no time in following up his victory, and in detaching different corps of his army, in pursuit of the columns which had escaped after the battle, the whole of which successively were obliged to surrender.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, Napoleon directed his march towards Berlin; and so rapid was his advance, that the Prussian monarch found it necessary instantly to abandon his capital, and to retire into West Prussia, whilst the garrison was withdrawn to Custrim; the magistracy forming a civil provisional administration in order to insure public tranquillity. Davoust, with the advanced guard, marched in on the 25th of October; and, the day after, he was followed by Marshal Augereau. On the 27th, Napoleon himself made his public entry, and continued here nearly a month; in which time he was busily employed in various acts of diplomacy, and in making preparations for the extension of his conquests and the consolidation of his power.

Whilst engaged in those measures at Berlin, he received intelligence of the rapid march of the Russians into Poland, and of their having occupied Warsaw in great force; he therefore left Berlin on the 25th of November, and proceeded to Posen, where he was met by the Elector of Saxony, with whom he concluded a treaty, by virtue of which that prince, and all the princes of his house, were admitted to become members of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Posen had been occupied by Napoleon's troops as early as the 10th of November, and here he stopped until the 16th; after which he set off for Warsaw, and

arrived there on the 18th, from whence he proceeded to join the main body of his army then at Narew, the passage of which river had been already secured. We have already stated that the Russian troops had previously advanced to Warsaw; after which they detached a corps to Lowrez, in order to defend the passage of the river Bzura: but Murat having driven in this advance, General Benningsen, who then commanded the Russian army, found it necessary to evacuate Warsaw and to recross the Vistula, having received intelligence of the extensive force which Napoleon was bringing against him; so that Murat took possession of Warsaw, and began to fortify it with the greatest celerity. Ney in the mean time took possession of Thorn; and Augereau having also advanced to the banks of the Vistula, both these generals threw bridges over that river, fortified by *tetes-de-pont*, so as to be prepared either for advance or retreat. At the same time, all the fortresses of Prussia in possession of Napoleon were supplied with French garrisons, thereby forming a strong connected line between the army and the allied states of Germany.

At this period, Benningsen's corps having been joined by Buxhowden with the second division of the Russian army, the former general took the supreme command; soon after which he received reinforcements under Kamenskoy; with which force he was so confident of success, that his plan was now to advance to Pultusk, where he fixed his head-quarters, intending from thence to commence the plan of operations which should drive the French across the Vistula.

In this measure he was checked by the advance of a small French detachment across the river Narew, who, passing in the night, had entrenched themselves so strongly before morning, that it was judged imprudent to attempt to dislodge them. This corps therefore proceeded to throw another bridge across the Vistula, under cover of their position, and at the same time fortified it so strongly that the whole French army was able to pass without molestation, and to move forward in full force in order to bring the allied Russian and Prussian armies to a decisive action. Such were the movements previous to Napoleon's joining the army.

No sooner had Napoleon joined, than he ordered a general

general advance, which began with the right that very evening; for the Russians being strongly posted with a numerous corps, particularly of Cossacks, at the village of Czarnowo, which is on the banks of the Narew, and having erected considerable batteries on their front and flanks, it was necessary that they should be dislodged in the first instance; an event which took place after a most obstinate resistance.

Napoleon now ordered a strong force to advance against Golomyn and Pultusk, where the Prussian corps were posted, which were soon broken and dispersed: in consequence of which, the Russians were left alone to combat the victorious Napoleon, who ordered up a most commanding force in the two separate lines of Pultusk and Golomyn; which was succeeded by a total defeat of the Russians in both places, who were compelled to retreat with great loss.

After the battle of Pultusk, Napoleon put his army into winter cantonments, and he himself returned to Warsaw. But he soon found that he would not be permitted to rest quietly in them; and, as he knew that the operations of the Russians would be directed upon the Vistula, so he determined to counteract them by demonstrations on the Niemen and the Pregel. He therefore instantly began arrangements for active warfare, having, in a great measure, refitted his troops from the magazines captured by Bernadotte, in Elbing. Anxious, also, to avail himself of the important depôt of Königsberg, Bernadotte, supported by Ney, was ordered to attempt it by surprise; but this was completely frustrated, by a rapid march of the Generals Gallitzin and Pahlen, who, advancing upon the Aller, where Ney was posted, obliged him to fall back upon Murat's division, and, having kept these corps upon the alert for some time, they then turned upon Bernadotte at Mohringa, where an action took place on the 25th of January, in which both parties claimed the victory.

Having now determined to make an attack upon the main body of the allies, on the 29th of January Napoleon ordered his whole army to break up their cantonments, in order to cross the Vistula; and, as Von Essen's corps would have been a serious obstacle to a retreat, in case of defeat, he first detached Savary to keep it
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in check, whilst another detached corps of the allies, at Culm and Marienwerder, was observed by Le Febvre.

Having appointed for these services a small force, he pursued his usual plan of concentrating at one point the whole flower of his troops, in order to advance for the intended attack on the Russian centre; a plan in which he was much assisted by the injudicious extension of the allied line: and, for this operation, he had not less than 120,000 men, consisting of the cavalry, under Murat, to the number of 36,000; the Imperial guard, under Bessières, at least 15,000; and the corps of Soult, Augereau, Ney, and Davoust, amounting at least to 80,000.

On the 31st of January he arrived at Wildenberg, about 60 miles from Warsaw, and right in the line of the Russian advance. At this place, and in its vicinity, the whole of his own disposable force was assembled, and from this point he proposed to put in practice his favourite manœuvre of outflanking his enemy, and cutting off his reserve in the rear. For this purpose, on the 1st of February, Napoleon ordered his army to advance from Wildenberg towards Passenheim, a post of great importance, as it forms the key of several roads through a very difficult country, covered with lakes, and intersected with rivers. The Russians had hastened to avail themselves of this position, but were not in sufficient force to resist the assault of Murat with the cavalry, who entered, sword in hand.

Whilst these operations were going on, Napoleon, who expected that a general action must soon take place, ordered the corps of Soult to form in order of battle on the right at the village of Galkendorf, whilst that of Augereau took up a position in the centre, and the left, consisting of the Imperial guard, acted as a reserve.

The town of Gulstadt was the principal depôt of the Russian army, and was in front of the bridge of Bergfried, a pass that led to their rear; this, therefore, Napoleon determined to make himself master of, and accordingly ordered Soult to advance for that purpose. The latter general accordingly detached General Guyot, with the light cavalry, who was completely successful, though after an obstinate resistance, taking also the depôts of Altenstein and Liebstadt; whilst Soult himself advanced,
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with two divisions, towards the bridge of Bergfried, a place of such importance to the defence of the Russian left wing in particular, that Benningsen had detached twelve of his veteran battalions for its protection. Soult now commenced a cannonade at three in the afternoon of the 3d, which was spiritedly returned by the Russians; but the attack of the French was so impetuous, and their numbers so superior, that the Russians were forced to abandon the bridge after an obstinate contest. Napoleon now ordered his cavalry to advance, under Murat, on the morning of the 4th, in order to push the Russian corps, which had defended the bridge at Bergfried; but they had taken advantage of the night, and retreated with great skill, leaving merely a rear-guard, which kept up an action, with great gallantry, for upwards of six hours.

A number of operations now took place on both sides, previous to the battle of Eylau, which would afford but little of either amusement or instruction to our readers. It is sufficient to observe, that a general action was now become inevitable, and both parties instantly commenced the necessary preparations, which led to some hard fighting, previous to the battle itself: for, Napoleon having found it necessary to occupy a rising ground about two miles from Hoff, as it commanded the entrance into the plain, or rather the valley behind which the Russian army was posted, it was necessary to dislodge a considerable force that was posted to defend it. A large French corps was accordingly ordered up; but a column of Russian cavalry having charged them in flank, Napoleon was defeated in his object, and the Russians remained masters of the position. They were not so successful, however, at the village of Eylau, from whence the battle of the ensuing day took its name; for there a most bloody contest took place, principally in the church and church-yard, which were fortified by Benningsen's orders, and defended by several regiments. This post was taken at ten o'clock at night, after a most obstinate resistance, and most bloody carnage; after which the two armies passed the night in bivouack, nearly within musket-shot of each other.

The positions of the French army on the following morning were as follows:—St. Hilaire was posted on the right

right of Eylau, and Augereau on its left, whilst Le Grand was in great force on its front; but the principal part of Napoleon's force was occupied in attempting to outflank their opponents, for which purpose he, early in the evening of the 7th of February, had detached Davoust, with orders to pass Eylau, and to get into the rear of the allied left, whilst Ney was manœuvring to outflank their right, movements which were in execution, when, at the dawn of day, on the 8th, the Russians began a very heavy cannonade upon Eylau; St. Hilaire, at the same time, advancing in order to drive in the allied outposts. Napoleon himself now advanced to the church-yard of Eylau, where the dreadful carnage of the preceding day still lay, unburied; and from thence he was able to take a complete view of the whole scene of action, the most important part of which was, evidently, the hill or plateau, in the attack of which, on the preceding day, his best troops had been repulsed. In fact, as long as the Russians should possess this post, it was utterly impossible for him to bring the centre of his army into action, as their way was directly through the plain which those heights commanded. On this arduous attempt, then, he ordered Augereau to push on with a large force, principally of artillery, to the amount of forty pieces, of the Imperial guard; but the Russians were also very strong in that arm, in the same quarter, so that a very heavy cannonade took place before the troops could come within range of musquetry. The assault, however, was very gallant, on the part of Augereau, as he did not permit a gun to be fired, until within half-gun shot; so that the carnage, both with round and grape, was of the most dreadful nature.

The Russians stood the attack, for a long time, with cool courage, but became at last so galled, that, in order to put an end to it at once, they began a series of movements which announced a determination to outflank the left of Augereau's force; in this, however, they were checked, their attention being drawn off by the tirailleurs of Davoust's corps, which now got into their rear. No sooner did Augereau ascertain this fact, than he began to put in practice the preconcerted plan, which was, that his corps should file off, in columns, for the attack of the allied centre; whilst Hilaire, at the same time, pushed off

off further to the right, in order to support the proposed junction of Augereau's and Davoust's corps, by which the allied army would have been completely cut in two.

The moment was critical and important; but no sooner did the French columns advance, than a heavy snow storm commenced, so that it was totally impossible to see a yard in any direction. In consequence of this, the French columns lost their line of direction, and Augereau's division having moved too far to the left, St. Hilaire's corps was almost unsupported; when, at the end of half an hour, and at the clearing up of the storm, he found himself opposed to a Russian corps, consisting of 20,000 infantry, besides artillery and cavalry, who were then turning his flank.

At this moment the destruction, not only of Hilaire's corps, but even of the whole of Napoleon's army, was almost inevitable, had not the rapid advance of Murat with the cavalry, and of Bessieres with the Imperial guard, saved them; for these two generals, pushing round St. Hilaire's flank, came in contact with the Russian infantry, whom they instantly charged, routing them with great slaughter. Two lines of infantry, in this affair, were completely broken and annihilated, and the third only escaped by falling back and supporting itself in the wood.

The battle now raged upwards of twelve hours, with doubtful success, and with destructive slaughter, there being upwards of 300 pieces of artillery in full play. At length, after prodigious exertions, the Russians gave way, leaving the field of battle in possession of the French. The loss of the Russian army must have been very great; nor could that of Napoleon be trifling: but it would be an arduous task to attempt, amidst the various and contradictory reports of both sides, to ascertain what the loss of each really was.

Notwithstanding the defeat of the Russians at Eylau, they were still formidable to Napoleon, whose detached corps were continually harassed by the Cossacks, and so much was he annoyed by their movements, that he found it necessary to fall back from Eylau on the 16th of February. After this he resumed his old positions, covering the whole line of the Vistula, in order to facili-

tate the siege of Dantzic and some other places; whilst a corps under the orders of his youngest brother, Jerome, was employed in attacking the various fortresses in Silesia.

The Emperor Alexander had now determined to rejoin his army, and by his presence endeavour to retrieve the disasters which the allies had sustained, and, if possible, to save Dantzic. A force of 80,000 men was accordingly assembled, under the command of the Archduke Constantine, at Konigsburg, whither the King of Prussia also repaired from Memel.

The bombardment of Dantzic had commenced on the 24th of April; and it was determined by the allied monarchs to attempt some relief to that place by sea, as any attempt to force the French lines was deemed imprudent: for this purpose, a large force was sent in transports and landed near Dantzic, on the 10th of May, under General Kaminskoy.

No sooner had Napoleon got intelligence of these intended movements, than he detached Marshal Lasnes to reinforce Le Febvre, and to oppose the Russian and Prussian reinforcements, in their movements from Weischelmunde, where they landed; in which those generals were so successful as to defeat the allied advance, and oblige the others to seek refuge in the fortress where they had first landed. In the mean time, the repose which Napoleon had promised his troops was completely broken in upon by extended attacks on the part of the Russians along his whole line: but these efforts had little effect with respect to Dantzic, which surrendered on the 19th of May.

Many attempts at negotiation having been made without success, the Russians commenced active operations; and on the 5th of June they made several attacks on various parts of the French line; in none of which they were very successful, except at Altkirchen and its vicinity, where they forced Ney to fall back, and on the 6th they gave a severe check to Soult.

No sooner did intelligence of the Russian advance reach Napoleon, than he set off to join the advance, directing his route to Ney's corps; but he did not join that officer until the night of the 7th, when he found him at Deppen. Having passed the night in the field, after

after assuming the command, Napoleon put all his forces in motion on the 8th, he himself pushing on for Gulstadt at the head of the Imperial Guards, reinforced by the reserve of cavalry, and accompanied by the divisions of Ney and Lasnes.

On the 9th he entered Gulstadt, and on the 10th he moved his whole army towards Keilsburg; near which, after carrying several positions of the allied army, he came up with their rear, amounting to about 15,000 cavalry, together with several lines of infantry. Napoleon immediately ordered this rear-guard to be attacked by a division of Murat's dragoons, by the cuirassiers of another division, and also by a brigade of light cavalry; yet these were again and again repulsed, though not with such decision as to prevent them from renewing the attack under cover of Soult's corps, which came up and was formed ready for action about two o'clock in the day.

The battle was now become serious; and Napoleon found it necessary to detach two whole divisions to the right, whilst another deployed on the left of his army in order to get possession of a wood, from whence his cavalry might otherwise have been much annoyed; for the Russians had now halted their whole force, and had detached several reinforcements to their rear.

The principal position of the Russians was in the town; but their rear was now in strong force in its front, defended by upwards of 60 pieces of artillery. The rapid advance of the whole of Napoleon's force, however, decided the fate of the day; and the Russians were driven from all their positions.

The important battle of Friedland was now approaching; previous to which the Russians had assembled the whole of their army at Keilsburg, a place of such strength and importance, that they had trusted all their magazines to its protection, and upon which they had bestowed upwards of four months hard labour to the perfecting of its defences. Napoleon, expecting to be attacked from this position, about four in the evening gave directions to Davoust to change the front of his division, and to advance towards the Lower Aller, by moving forward his left wing so as to block up the road to Eylau; whilst every other division was ordered to its position, in expectation of an important result.

It appears, however, that General Benningsen did not think it prudent either to make an assault upon the French army from this position, or even to defend it from their attack; for though, whilst Napoleon was drawing up his army, he formed his troops in columns, under cover of his heavy batteries, yet at ten o'clock in the night of the 11th, he began his retreat from Keilsburg, leaving not only his dépôts, but even his wounded, to the number of 4000, to Napoleon's protection.

No sooner had Napoleon understood that the Russian army had evacuated Keilsburg, than he instantly ordered it to be occupied at so early an hour as four in the morning; and there he was enabled to supply himself not only with ammunition and other military stores, but also with a great quantity of provisions, including several thousand quintals of grain.

He then directed the main body to advance, and in the course of the evening passed Eylau, the scene of his former victory. On the succeeding day, he advanced to Friedland with a very strong force, consisting of the Imperial guard, of the divisions of Ney, Mortier, and Lasnes, &c.; whilst Murat, Soult, and Davoust, had orders to make some demonstrations upon Königsburg, so as to distract the attention of the allies with fears for the safety of that important position.

Though determined on retreat, General Benningsen seems still to have retired but slowly; for though Napoleon had ordered the 9th regiment of hussars to take possession of Friedland, yet a body of Russian cavalry to the number of 3000 were sufficiently near to drive them out of it, and to re-occupy the place.

Benningsen now determined to retreat upon Königsburg: and for that purpose, early in the morning of the 14th, he took possession of the bridge of Friedland, along which his route lay: here, however, he was opposed by the French; and a brisk cannonade commenced as early as three in the morning. Napoleon now gave orders for the different corps of his army to harass the Russians in their advance without coming to a close action until every thing was prepared for that purpose. His orders were executed so skilfully by his officers, that the Russians could not advance beyond the village of Postenheim until five in the evening, at which late

late hour a general action appeared unavoidable, and both armies accordingly prepared for the tremendous conflict.

General Benningsen arranged his army in the best order that the time and his position would admit of, forming a front of four miles and a half, with his left resting upon Friedland, and the whole line extending on a wide flat on the left bank of the Aller.

In front of the Russian positions the plain was intersected by a deep ravine, then full of water, and at all times almost impassable; for though it was not to be called a river, yet it fed a lake of some extent near Friedland, and ran on for some distance, in a line towards Donmow; but then, unfortunately, it separated the right wing from the centre of the Russian army. Some other points in their front were real points of defence, particularly a thick wood about one mile and a half distant from Friedland, reaching towards their centre, and forming an elevated semicircle along the plain, but with a small interval between it and the river. Further and in front of this wood, and about a mile distant from Friedland, was the village of Henrichsdorf, nearly opposite to the Russian centre; between the left of which village and the Aller was the principal seat of the battle; for immediately in front of it, the French army was drawn up in the following order. On the right was Ney, with a division of dragoons for his reserve; in the centre, Lasnes, with a reserve of a division of dragoons, and the Saxon cuirassiers; whilst the left was under the orders of Mortier, supported by the cavalry under General Grouchy: the reserve being formed of the Imperial guards and the corps under Victor.

By five in the evening these arrangements had taken place; and as Napoleon had closely reconnoitred the Russian positions, he gave orders for his army instantly to advance in order to take Friedland, now occupied by the Russians; to execute which manœuvre, and at the same time to confuse the Russian generals by an unexpected movement, he instantly changed his front, and ordering twenty pieces of artillery to be fired from an advanced battery as a signal along his line, the attack was begun by the advance of the right wing, whilst the principal point of assault was entrusted to General Marchand, who pushed on with his whole division,
sword

sword in hand, for the steeple of Friedland, without regard to any obstacles in the way, but supported by another division in case any difficulties should have arisen from the ruggedness of the line of march.

This advance was from Napoleon's right wing, and no sooner did Benningsen perceive that the whole of this division of the French army was in motion, than he ordered up a large body of cavalry, with several pulks of Cossacks, in hopes of cutting off the communication with the main body; but in this he was frustrated by La Tour Maubourg hurrying up to Ney's assistance with his division of dragoons, who, coming up at full gallop, threw the Russian advance into check. From the whole of the operations of this awful evening, it is evident that Benningsen's design was rather to be the assailant than the assailed; but any effective advance on his part was checked by a battery of 30 pieces of artillery, which Victor had advanced about 400 paces in front of the centre of his reserve, and which, by Napoleon's change of front, was now directly in the line of the proposed Russian operations. Still did the Russians act with their accustomed bravery, though repelled in every attack by Ney's division, when several Russian columns that had attacked the right of his wing, were received on the point of the bayonet and driven into the Aller; thousands being lost in that river, and a few only escaping by swimming across it.

There is no doubt, however, but that the right of this wing was completely kept for some time in check; but the left were enabled to push on, and even to advance close to the works which surrounded Friedland, when they were instantly attacked by great part of the Russian Imperial guards, both cavalry and infantry, and that with such unexpected rapidity, that the French columns were thunderstruck, and even wavered so long, that a repulse of a most serious nature must have ensued, had not Dupont come up to their assistance with the right of the reserve, which the Russian guards were unable to withstand, and a great slaughter ensued.

This point of the town of Friedland seems to have been the main object throughout the whole of the action: but it was now almost too late for the Russians to attempt its further defence; for so far was Napoleon's
army

army in advance, that, although several heavy columns were sent up successively to its succour, yet the immense superiority of the French, whose greatest force was directed to this point, enabled them to enter the place under cover of their numerous artillery. Even here, however, they met with a most obstinate resistance on the part of the Russians, so that in a short time, the whole of the streets were filled with dead bodies.

Whilst these operations were going on upon Napoleon's right, his left, under the command of Mortier, still kept its position without advancing, but not without being assailed by the Russians, who advanced repeatedly to assault it. These assaults were, indeed, so gallantly repulsed, that Benningsen directed an attack upon the French centre, in hopes of creating a diversion in favour of that part of his own line posted at Friedland; at that moment, however, Mortier took the opportunity of advancing, and, supported by the fusileers under Savary, he pushed on his columns by the ravine so as to have them completely under cover, so that he was soon in the very heart of the Russian lines, when victory was no longer doubtful.

The field of battle presented a most horrible scene of blood and devastation, being covered with the dead and dying, and being more dreadful in appearance than any which the French themselves had ever before beheld; for the dead alone were estimated at near 18,000.

The Russians having left the field of battle, with a loss of 80 pieces of artillery, together with an immense number of baggage-waggons as well as military standards, were pursued by the French on the Konigsburg road until near midnight; after which several columns that were cut off, endeavouring to pass the Aller, were almost entirely destroyed, so that in the morning that river was filled with dead men and horses, baggage-waggons, artillery, &c.

On the ensuing day, the 15th of June, Benningsen attempted to re-assemble his troops on the right bank of the Aller, whilst Napoleon manœuvred on the left bank in hopes of cutting off his communication with Konigsburg. Pushing on thus on two sides of the river, and with equal rapidity, it happened that the advanced corps
of

of each army arrived nearly at the same instant at the town of Weylau, which is situated at the confluence of the Aller and Pregel; the French were not in sufficient force, however, to annoy the Russian corps, who then crossed the Pregel, and pursued their route towards the Niemen, after having destroyed the bridges on the former river.

Napoleon advanced to the Pregel with his whole army on the 16th; and, having thrown a bridge across it, he passed over, and halted, having at the same time occupied Weylau, where he found a small quantity of corn. At Konigsburg Soutz was more successful; for that place, not being considered tenable after the retreat of the Russians, was surrendered to him; and there he found a quantity of grain, to the amount of several hundred thousand quintals, besides capturing 20,000 wounded, together with all the arms and ammunition which had been sent from England for the use of the allies.

The Russians still retreated towards the Niemen, in which line Napoleon also advanced, and arrived at Tilsit on the 19th of June, in the evening, accompanied by his guards. Here, however, he was forced to halt, as the bridge had been burnt by that part of the Russian force which had been pursued by Murat; at which time also both the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia left the town, after having made it their place of residence upwards of three weeks, it being a large and handsome town, and next, for size and population, to Konigsburg. Here Napoleon received a message from Benningsen, requesting an armistice, to which he assented; when a stipulation took place, that hostilities should cease for an indefinite time, not to commence without a month's notice. Another article provided for the same cessation with respect to the Prussians. It was also agreed, that a negotiation for peace should instantly commence, and that an exchange of prisoners should take place.

On the 25th of June, Napoleon succeeded in his great object of obtaining a personal interview with the youthful Emperor of Russia, trusting to his own powers for obtaining an ungenerous influence over a generous monarch, when the conference took place on a raft prepared for the occasion, floating on the river Niemen, in a central situation between the armies.

Two tents were prepared on the raft, and both sovereigns landed from their boats at the same instant; and, having met, they embraced each other. This friendly intercourse on the part of the two Emperors was imitated by the officers and men of both armies; and Napoleon's guards gave a magnificent dinner to the same description of troops in the service of the two other monarchs; when, in the festivity of the moment, the two parties were so friendly, that they actually exchanged uniforms, and thus presented a motley spectacle to the inhabitants of Tilsit.

This interview gave rise to the famous treaty of Tilsit, which was concluded on the 7th of July; the principal contents of which were, that amity should exist between France and Russia. The stipulations with regard to Prussia were ruinous to that power, which was reduced to a secondary state. Nearly half of her annual revenues, and upwards of five millions of her subjects, were taken from her; and she was reduced to the same condition she was in in 1772, previous to the partition of Poland.

Napoleon, having now no enemy to fear, determined to establish a new kingdom in the north-west of Germany, by the name of Westphalia, which he gave to his brother Jerome; on which occasion he made use of the following remarkable expressions to the Senate—"If the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to conspire against our independence, *yet* reigns, it owes it to my sincere friendship for the powerful *Emperor of the North!* A French Prince shall reign on the Elbe: he will know how to conciliate the affections of his new subjects with his first and most sacred duties."

The next important event in the life of Napoleon is his attack upon the independence of Spain, and his attempt to fix his brother Joseph upon the throne of that kingdom. These events have been sufficiently noticed already, in another part of this work, to render it unnecessary to detail them afresh, excepting so far as Napoleon himself was personally engaged in these transactions. We shall therefore briefly observe, that, finding the subjugation of Spain a more difficult task than he had imagined, and that the resistance of the Spaniards baffled the skill and bravery of his troops, he found it necessary to put himself at their head, hoping that his presence would in-

stantly put an end to all opposition, and finally terminate the war. Accordingly, having put in motion 160,000 French conscripts for Spain, he himself set out from Paris, on the 30th of October, and arrived at Bayonne on the 3d of November. From that city he set off on the 5th of the month, to meet his brother Joseph at Vittoria, carrying with him a reinforcement of 12,000 men.

The history of this part of the Spanish campaign is too insignificant to require notice. No opposition could be expected to be made to the progress of Napoleon and his veteran forces; and the Spanish patriots wisely retired from the contest, reserving their strength and energies for a more favourable opportunity. It is unnecessary, therefore, to enter into the affair at Tudela, on the 22d of November, which completely opened the road to Madrid, which was taken possession of by Berthier early in December, but not until a peremptory summons had been sent in, requiring its surrender. When the Spanish deputies came out, and were conducted to Napoleon's head-quarters, he told them with a stern countenance, and in a decided tone of voice, that if the city did not agree to a capitulation by five or six o'clock on the ensuing morning, it should be taken by assault, and every person found in arms put to the sword! At the same time, with the most hypocritical but affected magnanimity, he promised to extend his clemency to the Junta, in order to conceal the treacherous part which they had acted, in concert with him. He also issued a proclamation, in which he threatened, that if they did not submit to the new order of things, he would put the crown upon his own head, and treat Spain like a conquered province, and find another kingdom for his brother, "for God had given him both the inclination and the power to surmount all obstacles." Madrid surrendered; and the consequences are well known.

Important events in the life of Napoleon were now rapidly developing themselves. The continued and never-ending encroachments upon the independence and safety of almost every country in Europe had long opened the eyes of Austria to a just sense of her danger; and she secretly wished for an opportunity, when resistance to his plans of ambition might be made with some appearance of success: she had long been making preparations,

tions, and a favourable opportunity now offered, when the military force of France was employed in the peninsula.

So obstinate was the contest in Spain now become, and so much did it employ the military force of Napoleon, that he was extremely anxious to avoid a rupture with Austria. For this purpose, he made use of every art to persuade the world that the greatest harmony prevailed between him and that power; and, in order to discourage the court of Vienna from interfering in the Spanish affairs, and at the same time to banish from the minds of the Spaniards themselves every hope of assistance from that power, he took care, both in his Polish and German newspapers, to describe the cause of the Spanish patriots, whom he chose to call "Insurgents," as totally desperate, representing their tumultuous and undisciplined bands as broken and dispersed, and asserting boldly that Saragossa was taken many weeks before that event actually took place. These falsehoods, and all his arts, were of no avail; for the Emperor Francis declared war against him in April 1809.

The policy of Austria at this moment, in a military point of view, was necessarily a cautious one; for such a hold had Napoleon got of the rest of Germany, that any attempt at the concentration of her forces would have exposed Vienna to no less than five different French armies; *viz.* from the different points of Silesia, in the north-west of Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and the north of Italy. From all of those points Napoleon was ready to penetrate; but, as the shortest and easiest was by way of Munich, it was in that direction that the Archduke Charles, who was invested with the supreme command, proposed to lead on his principal force; and in this determination he was doubtless influenced by hopes of recovering the Tyrol, part of the ancient Austrian dominions, and now a point of great importance in the military operations.

If the Austrian force was as great as represented, Napoleon had reason to be anxious to delay hostilities; for it is asserted, that the Austrian force was divided into nine corps, each amounting to nearly 40,000 men; six of which were under the Archduke's personal command, and the others were commanded by the Count de

Bellegarde, Kollowrath, the Prince of Hohenzollern, General Hiller, &c.; but of these, one corps was in Poland, and two in Italy, where the Archduke John commanded. The Prince of Lichtenstein, and General Kienmeyer, who had fought so bravely in former campaigns, were entrusted with the reserve, which, with several small corps, were in motion in the various provinces. If to these we add the landwehr, or local militia of the Austrian provinces, we may contemplate the whole force of Austria at nearly 400,000 men.

No sooner had the Austrian army passed the Inn, on the 9th of April, and advanced to the Iser, in the vicinity of Munich, than intelligence of the event was transmitted to Paris by the line of telegraphs; when Napoleon instantly set off from the capital for the army, and on the 16th arrived at Dillengen, where he was received by the King of Bavaria, with whom he had an interview, in which he not only promised to replace him in his capital in the course of a fortnight, but even to make him a more potent prince than any of his ancestors had ever been.

On the 17th, he established his head-quarters at Dona-
werth, where he issued a proclamation to his army, in which he says, "Soldiers! the territory of the Confederation of the Rhine has been violated. The Austrian general wishes us, on the sight of his army, to fly and abandon our allies. I come to you with the speed of lightning. Soldiers, I was in the midst of you, when the sovereign of Austria came to my bivouac in Moravia. You heard him imploring my clemency, and promising me eternal friendship. Austria, vanquished in three wars, owes every thing to our generosity. Our past successes are a pledge of the victory that awaits us. Let us then march on: and let the enemy, on seeing us, recognise his conqueror."

The first affair in this new contest was at Phaffenhoffen, to which place Oudinot had advanced, for the purpose of attacking a small Austrian corps posted there, whom he defeated. At this place he was joined by Massena on the following day, whilst Newstadt was occupied at the same time by Davoust. These operations completely manifested the line of policy and of military detail which Napoleon had marked out; his plan being, according to his

his own first bulletin, to manœuvre on the extended Austrian line, reaching from Landshut to Newstadt, and, whilst the Archduke should suppose himself to be the assailant, and was marching on to Ratisbon with that intent, Napoleon should thus attack him, and be thereby enabled to break the line of the Austrian army, and, cutting off all communication, then attack each part successively.

At the period of issuing this bulletin, the Archduke Charles had found himself obliged to cross the Danube at Ratisbon, for the purpose of forming a junction with Bellegarde, in consequence of several actions, beginning on the 20th at Abensberg, where were two of the Austrian corps, under the Archduke Lewis and General Hiller. These Napoleon had attacked at the head of the Bavarian and Wurtemberg contingents; and, four days afterwards, he engaged the Archduke Charles himself at Eckmuhl, who was obliged to retreat, with considerable loss.

Napoleon now advanced to Ratisbon, which he took, after some resistance on the part of the corps destined to cover it; and thus completely deranged the Austrian plans, removing the seat of war from the right to the left bank of the Danube, whilst he himself pushed on with such rapidity as to anticipate the Archduke in his movements, and to arrive at Lintz, before the junction with Hiller's corps could take place, as was intended, in the vicinity of that fortress.

So great was the rapidity of Napoleon, that on the 10th of May he appeared before Vienna, which almost instantly surrendered to him; for though some shew of resistance was made whilst the Austrian army was securing its retreat, yet, no sooner had Napoleon got possession of the islands of the Danube, than all further opposition was considered as useless, and the Emperor Francis once more retired to Znaim in Moravia, to which place he had set out after the battle of Eckmuhl.

A second time in possession of the Austrian capital, Napoleon published a proclamation to the Hungarians, in which he said, that the interference of Providence had granted him those victories over their Emperor, in order to punish him for his ungrateful perfidy. After accusing Francis of taking arms against *him* who had *thrice* given him that crown, which he could have deprived him of, he reminded

reminded the Hungarians of the glories of their ancestors; and he insidiously told them, that he who had broken their bondage, under the line of Austrian princes, now desired nothing so ardently, as that they should display their independence by choosing a king for themselves. He even went so far as to call on them to assemble on the plains of Racos, as in ancient times, and there to choose their sovereign; a choice which he promised to support against all opposition: the Hungarians, however, had too much loyalty to listen to these suggestions.

The Austrian forces having again concentrated themselves, Napoleon directed his attention to the Archduke Charles, who, with a force of about 75,000 men, had moved down towards Vienna, on the left bank of the Danube, in order to watch the movements of the French army, and check any attempt which they might make to pass the river; but as, by the fall of Vienna, the Austrians had lost a point of support on which to rest their military operations, he fixed his head-quarters at Ebersdorf on the 16th of May. It was in this situation of affairs, that the Archduke resolved to collect his army at the foot of the hill Bisamberg, and allow it a few days' rest, which, after so many forced marches, it urgently wanted. The cavalry, for the convenience of water was posted along the Russ, a small rivulet which is concealed by ground covered with bushes; and the advanced guards pushed forward to the Danube.

No sooner had Napoleon ascertained the movements of the Archduke, than he resolved to attack him in his position; and for that purpose marched his army along the south bank of the Danube, until he had arrived within six miles of Vienna, where he determined to cross the river, as its breadth and rapidity are broken by two islands: and no sooner had his engineers established two bridges across from the south side of the smallest of the islands, and thence towards the larger one, than he fixed his head-quarters in the great island of Lobau, which is not more than 70 fathoms from the northern bank, to which in less than three hours he threw across a bridge of pontoons, and soon after extended his army along the whole of that bank; for as, by the retreat of the Austrians, he was in some measure left to choose his own field

field of battle, he posted the right wing of his force at Essling, and his left at another village called Aspern, preparative to the great events now about to take place.

These movements were completed by Napoleon on the 20th, but on the preceding day the Austrian outposts had reported his taking possession of Lobau. At that time, from the top of the Bisamberg, the whole of the opposite country appeared to be enveloped in a cloud of dust, and the glitter of arms evinced a general movement of troops towards Kaiser's Ebersdorf, where Napoleon's head-quarters were on that day. The Archduke, understanding that Napoleon was by his own presence hastening and promoting the preparations for passing the river, immediately resolved, on the 20th at day-break, to reconnoitre the island of Lobau, and to employ for that purpose part of the advanced guard, supported by some cavalry and artillery.*

The Archduke soon perceived by the strength of Napoleon's columns, which advanced upon the island, and placed their cannon so as to support the second passage, that he meditated a serious attack. The advanced guard maintained a tolerably warm engagement, and the cavalry routed the first division of Napoleon's advance, which had debouched from the low grounds on the edge of the river, late in the evening. Upon which the Archduke, whose intention was not to prevent the passage of the French army, but to attack it on the following day, retreated with the cavalry, and ordered the Austrian advance to retire also, in proportion as Napoleon should extend his line.

On the 21st at day-break, the Archduke formed his army in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, and between the Bisamberg and the rivulet Russ. Hiller commanded the right, and Bellegarde the left; in the

* The isle of Lobau forms a convenient place of arms, and is about six English miles long, and four and a half broad; and, being separated by the large arm of the Danube from the right bank, nothing prevents the building of a bridge, as the spot is concealed by ground covered with bushes, whilst the great extent of the island affords the advantage of sending troops and ordnance from so many points of it, that the passage across the smaller arm to the large plain of Marshfield may be easily made good by force of arms.

centre was the Prince of Hohenzollern. For the further security of the left wing, Prince Rosenberg's corps was posted by battalions in columns on the Russbach, whilst a division in reserve was placed on the heights beyond that position: and at the same time the whole of the Austrian cavalry was called back from its advance into the line, filling up the spaces on the left.

The vast plain of the Marshfield spread like a carpet before the front of the Austrian line, and appeared, by the absence of every obstruction, to be destined to form the theatre of some great event. The grenadiers remained in reserve near Siering; and the corps of the Prince of Reuss, general of artillery, kept the Bisamberg, and the low bushy ground along the Danube, strongly occupied.

At nine o'clock the Archduke ordered the arms to be piled, and the troops to dine. The picquet of observation on the Bisamberg then reported that the bridge thrown by the French across the Danube behind the isle of Lobau, being now quite finished, was plainly perceivable; and that troops were, without intermission, seen filing over it, as well as passing in boats to the isle. The Austrian outposts likewise gave information of the gradual augmentation of Napoleon's army in the town of Enzersdorff, and in the villages of Essling and Aspern, as well as of their advancing towards Hirschstetten; so that the Archduke now thought that the moment for giving battle had arrived, and hastened to Gerasdorf, from whence he gave orders that the attack should be made in five columns. The first of which was to keep under the command of General Hiller, along the nearest arms of the Danube, pass along the left bank toward Aspern, and to keep constantly near to the river and the meadows bordering upon it, in order to check the advance of any part of Napoleon's army that might attempt to pass by that route. The second and third columns were to unite near Hirschstetten, and, pushing on towards Aspern, still to preserve their communication with the column under General Hiller; whilst the fourth advanced towards Essling; the fifth towards Enzersdorff; and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Lichtenstein was continually to keep at such a distance between the heads of the third and fourth columns, as, in case of necessity, to be near at hand for the purpose of repelling the main body of Napoleon's cavalry,

cavalry. All the columns and corps were to march at noon; the second lines following at proper intervals, and each column forming its own advanced guard.

By this movement the Archduke hoped to insure success; his views however were modest and moderate, as they were declared in public orders to be principally directed towards the driving Napoleon back over the first arms of the Danube, and there to destroy the bridges he had thrown over them; after which the bank of the Lobau was to be occupied with a numerous artillery, principally howitzers, so as to keep him at least in check: in this latter arm, indeed, the Austrian army was strong, as they had no less than 288 pieces of various calibres, forming 18 batteries of brigade, 13 of position, and 11 of horse artillery, joined to a force of 103 battalions, and 148 squadrons, amounting in the whole to 75,000 effective troops.

Napoleon had availed himself extremely well of the advantage of the ground to cover his passage; for the extensive villages of Aspern and Essling, mostly composed of brick houses, and now encircled all round by heights of earth, thus resembled two bastions, between which a double line of natural trenches, intended to draw off the superfluous water, served as the curtain, and afforded every possible security to the columns passing from the isle of Lobau. Essling had a granary furnished with loop-holes, and whose three stories afforded room for several hundred men, whilst Aspern was provided with a strong church-yard.

Strong as Napoleon felt himself in those positions, yet he had determined not to await the Austrians attacking them, but had ordered seven divisions under Massena and Lasnes, as well as Bessieres with the guards of the Wurtemberg, Hesse Darmstadt, and Baden auxiliaries, to quit the position, and to advance towards Hirschstetten, where they were met by the first Austrian guards in advance, who had put themselves in motion exactly at noon, at which moment a general enthusiasm had taken possession of these troops. Joyful war songs, accompanied by Turkish music, resounded through the air, and were only interrupted by shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" "Long live the Archduke Charles!" wherever that

gallant Prince appeared. Every breast now panted with anxious desire for the decisive moment; and the finest weather favoured the awful scene.

As soon as the first Austrian column had got within cannon-shot of Stadlau, the outposts met the French picquets, when they slowly retired upon their respective divisions, and two Austrian battalions being drawn up *en echellon* to favour the advance of the column, they soon found Napoleon's force drawn up in large divisions immediately before the village of Aspern, having, to cover his front, occupied all the ditches of the fields, which afforded excellent breastworks. Napoleon's right was covered by a battery, and his left by a broad and deep ditch, as well as by a bushy ground, which was likewise occupied by several bodies of troops in close order; but though this part of his army had the advantages of the position all on his side, inasmuch as the freshes of the Danube were only passable by means of a small bridge, at which the French kept up a vigorous fire from behind the ditches, both with cannon and small arms, yet they could not prevent the Austrian column from passing the bridge in force, as soon as some troops had penetrated as far as the bushy meadows. These then formed without delay, and coming up at once to the charge, obliged the French advance to retreat with precipitation into Aspern, on which occasion that village, after a vigorous resistance, was taken for the first time.

Napoleon instantly ordered up reinforcements, who soon retook the village; but the remainder of the Austrian column coming up, the French were again driven to the lower end of the village, and again succeeded in recovering what they had lost. In short, both parties were so convinced of the importance of maintaining themselves in Aspern at any rate, that the most obstinate efforts of attack and defence alternately took place. The combatants engaged each other in every street, in every house, and in every barn; carts, ploughs, and harrows, were obliged to be removed during an uninterrupted fire, in order to get at each other; whilst every individual wall was an impediment to the assailants, and a rampart to the attacked. The village steeples, lofty trees, the garrets, and even the cellars, were to be conquered before either of the armies could style themselves masters of the place; and yet the possession

possession was ever of short duration, for no sooner was one street taken than another was re-occupied, and thus the murderous conflict was supported for several hours. The French and their allies always returned to the assault with redoubled vigour; whilst the Austrian batteries were supported by Hungarians, who were again assisted by Vienna volunteers; each rivalling the other in courage and in perseverance.

Without detailing the operations of the other Austrian columns, which would afford neither amusement nor instruction to our readers, we shall describe the operations where Napoleon was personally engaged. No sooner did he perceive the general advance of the Austrian army than he placed the bulk of his cavalry, supported by some battalions of infantry, in order of battle between Esslingen and Aspern, whilst the remainder of the infantry and artillery were crossing the Danube. As the Austrians advanced, he was opposed to the reserve under Prince Lichtenstein, who, having directed his columns to advance in two lines, Napoleon detached four or five thousand cavalry from his position to the right of the Austrians by the way of Esslingen, and thereby excited some apprehension in the breast of the Prince, that he would impede the march of the fourth column. The Prince, therefore, ordered four regiments to the left; but no sooner had this taken place than Napoleon ordered up the whole of his cavalry, accompanying it himself, and pushing on with the greatest confidence.

Napoleon was, however, received with a firmness which he did not expect, through the intrepidity of the Archduke Francis's cuirassiers, and other regiments of Lichtenstein's cavalry. The latter, in particular, frustrated completely Napoleon's repeated assaults, by means of judicious counter attacks, by which, at length, his furious advance was put a stop to, and the whole of his cavalry were repulsed with considerable loss.

So close and so critical was the encounter, that one of Napoleon's equerries, General Durosnel, was taken prisoner within a few paces of him; as was also General Foulcr, equerry to the Empress Josephine, after being slightly wounded.

The cavalry being repulsed, Napoleon ordered up large bodies of infantry, who commenced a very heavy

fire of musquetry; but, in spite of this, Prince Lichtenstein directed a general advance of the reserve, by means of which Napoleon was much straightened in his alignment, yet he was still able to keep up such a hot flanking fire from Esslingen, that the Austrians were held in check, merely answering the cannonade with their horse artillery, and passing the night on the ground in a state of preparation for the bloody scenes of the ensuing day.

The battle was terminated only by the darkness of the night; and though Napoleon still retained possession of Esslingen, yet as Aspern had fallen, the general position of his army was nearer to the Danube than it was at the commencement of the action.

The morning of the 22d saw Aspern again in his possession: but his situation was not much improved; for, by means of fire-ships sent down the Danube by the Austrians, his bridge at Lobau was so far destroyed, as to require several hours' repair before the whole of his reserve could be got over. He was indefatigable, however, in drawing over reinforcements. Oudinot had joined him in the evening; and all the disposable troops followed from Vienna and the Upper Danube, and were transported across the river in vessels and boats as fast as they arrived.

The Archduke, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps, which had been engaged during the day, to advance from its position near Gerasdorf to Breitenlee; but the short night was scarcely sufficient to complete the respective preparations for the commencement of a second tragedy!

With the morning's dawn of the 22d, Napoleon renewed his attacks upon Hiller's corps of the first division at Aspern: attacks which far surpassed, in impetuosity, those of the preceding day. It was a conflict of valour and mutual exasperation. Scarcely had Napoleon's guards compelled the Austrians to abandon Aspern, than the regiment of Klebeck again penetrated into the burning village, drove back his choicest troops, and engaged in a new contest in the midst of the conflagration, till at the expiration of an hour it also was obliged to give way. The regiment of Benyowsky now rushed in, and at the first onset gained possession in the churchyard,

yard, when they pulled down the walls, and set both the church and parsonage on fire; by which means, and being supported by some fresh battalions, under General Bianchi, the Austrians were at length enabled to maintain themselves at the entrance of the village, after overcoming the resistance, bordering on despair, opposed by the flower of the French army.

From the moment of the re-taking of Aspern, it appeared possible to the Archduke for him to oppose an offensive movement to Napoleon's advance upon the centre, and to operate upon his left flank and his communications. To accomplish this, the defence of Aspern was now entirely left to Hiller's corps; and Count Bellegarde, commanding the second column which had also occupied Aspern, was ordered to rest his right wing upon that village, whilst he formed his left and centre in the direction of Esslingen, in such a manner that, by degrees, he gained Napoleon's right flank, compelled the French divisions in that quarter to retreat, and, as the Austrians asserted, by the complete effect of his artillery brought to bear upon the left wing which commanded the whole space from Aspern to Esslingen, gave him a most severe defeat.

In the positions of the third Austrian column, the dawn of morning was also the signal for the renewal of the gigantic conflict. Here Napoleon displayed his personal powers, and here he had drawn up a great part of his infantry in large divisions, and between them the whole of the heavy cavalry was formed in masses.

Prince Lichtenstein, on observing this order of battle, perceived the necessity of keeping up a close communication with the infantry placed near his reserve; he therefore drew up his right wing in squares with intervals behind the corps of Austrian infantry, but kept his left wing together, with reserves posted in the rear.

A prodigious quantity of artillery covered Napoleon's front, who is described by the Austrians as seeming desirous to annihilate their corps by the murderous fire of cannon and howitzers. Upwards of 200 pieces of cannon were here engaged on both sides; and it was said that the oldest veterans never recollected to have witnessed

so tremendous a fire. The Austrians, however, boasted that vain was every endeavour to shake the intrepidity of their troops.

The moment was certainly critical; for Napoleon now rode through the ranks, and, according to the reports of the prisoners who were taken, had recourse to one of his usual falsehoods in order to encourage his disheartened troops, assuring them, that though the bridge was destroyed, yet this had been done by himself, because, in that case, they had no alternative but victory or death. Soon after this he put the whole of his line in motion, and the action became general.

Though Napoleon's army were now the assailants in this quarter, yet the counter attacks of the Austrians, both with sabre and bayonet, are stated in their accounts to have been so rapidly repeated, and so impetuous, as to be unparalleled in military annals, and to have completely frustrated all Napoleon's intentions, whom they assert to have been so beaten at all points, and so astonished at the dauntless impetuosity of his opponents, *that he was obliged to abandon the field of battle.*

The battle, however, still raged in other parts of the field, and about noon the Archduke ordered a new assault upon Esslingen. Five times did the Austrian troops rush up to the very walls of the houses, burning internally, and placed in a state of defence; some of the grenadiers even thrust their bayonets into the French loop-holes. But all their efforts were fruitless, so that the Archduke directed the grenadiers to take up their former position, and when they afterwards volunteered to renew the assault, he would not permit them, as Napoleon then appeared to be in full retreat. This village had indeed been through the day the spot for repeated attacks, even previous to this, particularly from the fifth column under Prince Rosenberg; and the last attack made by that officer had been performed with redoubled bravery, his troops rushing with irresistible impetuosity into the village. Still, however, such was the gallant resolution of the French, that the Austrians found it impossible to maintain themselves, particularly as Napoleon was constantly throwing in new reinforcements; the possession of Esslingen being of the utmost importance to the covering of his retreat, which he had already resolved upon, and which he

he was only able to secure by the sacrifice of an immense number of lives.

Foiled in his attempts upon Esslingen, Prince Rosenberg resolved to confine himself to the obstinate maintenance of his own position, to secure the left flank of the Austrian army, and to increase Napoleon's embarrassment by an incessant fire from all the batteries.

In the night of the 22d, Napoleon accomplished his retreat to the Lobau; and, at three in the morning of the 23d, his rear-guard had evacuated Esslingen and all the points which he had occupied on the left bank of the Danube.

Thus ended, after two days hard fighting, one of the most sanguinary conflicts that is to be found in modern history. Neither party had gained such decisive advantage over the other, as to have much effect upon the termination of the war; and they industriously prepared themselves for fresh carnage.

Though the Austrians might claim the victory, yet so able was Napoleon's retreat, that they only took three pieces of artillery, seven ammunition waggons, 17,000 musquets, and about 3000 cuirassiers.

The loss during the battle was great on both sides; and very few being taken by either party proved the determination of the combatants either to conquer or die. The Austrians lost 87 superior officers, and upwards of 4000 subalterns and privates, killed; in their list of wounded were 11 generals, 663 other officers, 15,651 subalterns and privates; and of these, one field-marshal, 8 officers, and 129 men, were taken prisoners by the French.

The Austrian bulletins stated the loss of the French to be prodigious, and, as it exceeded all expectation, could only be accounted for by the effect of their concentric fire on an exceedingly confined field of battle, where all the batteries crossed one another. Lasnes and three other generals were killed; two were taken. Upwards of 7000 men, and an immense number of horses, were buried on the field of battle; 5000 and upwards of wounded were taken into the hospitals. It was also said, that in Vienna and the suburbs there were 29,773 wounded; many were carried to St. Poltan, Ens, and as far as Lantz; 2300 were taken. Several hundred corpses floated down the Danube, and

and were for days afterwards thrown upon its shore. Many of the French met their death in the island of Lobau; and, after the water had fallen in the smaller arms of the Danube, innumerable bodies, thus consigned by their comrades to oblivion, became visible. The burial of those sufferers continued for some days, and a pestilential air was wafted down the theatre of death.

After the battle, the grand Austrian army had taken up a position between Wagram and Neusiedel, the front of which was covered by the Russbach. This small river, though not of great breadth, is in most parts deep, and its banks are almost every where steep. It is fordable only at a very few places. Behind it the land rises with a gentle acclivity, which extends from Wagram to Neusiedel, where it disappears, forming an angle to the left. Though this position was chosen and marked out as a point of assembly for the army in the event of the French attempting to cross the Danube, and in case it should be found impossible or thought inadvisable to oppose the passage; and though this defensive position had been selected for the final decision of this important contest, by a general battle, no attention had been shewn to the improvement of its natural strength by entrenchments; yet this position, by the assistance of art, might have been made impregnable.

The force under the Archduke Charles now consisted of the first six corps of the Austrian army, commanded by Generals Bellegarde, Hohenzollern, Kollowrath, Rosenberg, and the Prince of Reuss, and General Hiller. The vanguard was placed under the orders of General Nordmann; and a reserve, consisting of seventeen battalions of grenadiers, and another, composed of six regiments of cuirassiers, three of dragoons, one of light horse, and three of hussars (two of which, however, were newly raised, and formed part of the Hungarian levy), was under the command of Prince John of Lichtenstein. The whole number, including the cavalry, which did not exceed 12,000, amounted to nearly 115,000 men.

Towards the end of June, Napoleon was meditating a great blow. Permanent bridges, defended by *têtes-de-pont*, were, near Ebersdorff, thrown across to the island of Lobau. The banks of that island were lined with batteries, mounted with heavy artillery; and the French army had concentrated

concentrated itself near Vienna. Every thing, therefore, seemed to announce an approaching passage.

On the 30th of June Napoleon resumed offensive operations. In order to divert the attention of the Austrians from the point chosen for crossing the river, and on the other hand to cover the workmen, he occupied a part of the woody ground which forms an entering angle opposite to Lobau, and where the first passage was effected. A cross fire from about twenty pieces of cannon on this narrow space, commanded by the island, soon dislodged the Austrian advanced posts, which were entirely uncovered. A bridge was thrown over the small arm of the Danube, and the division of Le Grand took possession of the whole wood, the front of which, opposite to the Austrian entrenchments, was covered by a morass, which the overflowing of the river had formed here. The posts of the 6th corps fell back, on this occasion, to the entrenchments between Aspern and Esslingen. From this movement no further doubt remained in regard to the views of Napoleon, which became more evident, as it had been remarked from various points of observation, that his army was concentrating itself on all sides, and assembling both in the camp at Ebersdorf and on the island of Lobau.

In the afternoon of the 1st of July the whole Austrian army, under the supposition that the passage would be immediately effected, put itself in motion, approached the Danube, and continued in this situation on the 2d. On the morning of the 3d, however, it resumed its old position.

During the interval between the 1st and 4th, Napoleon kept up an incessant cannonade from the island of Lobau against the Austrian entrenchments between Enzersdorf and Aspern, and on the other hand against the island of Lobau and the workmen employed in throwing up entrenchments before the wood, which had been occupied by the division of Le Grand since the 30th of June.

At eleven o'clock on the night of the 4th, a courier was dispatched to the Archduke John, with an order for him to form a junction with the left wing of the Austrian army, and to take a share in the great battle which was now expected. At ten on the evening of the 4th, Napoleon embarked at Ebersdorf 1500 men, who proceeded down the Danube, and landed at the extremity

of the small wood before Muhlleitern, where the island of Lobau is formed by the arm which unites with the Danube. This disembarkation was covered by ten gunboats; but these posts being weakly occupied by the Austrians, with a company of chasseurs, and two three-pounders, were carried without much difficulty. At the same time, all the batteries on the island of Lobau kept up an incessant fire on the town of Enzersdorf, in order to draw the attention of the Austrians to that point. This town was occupied by the corps of General Nordmann; but barely in sufficient strength to enable it to maintain these posts, still less to send to the points already forced by the enemy any detachments capable to recover them.

Napoleon, as before stated, had made himself master of the wood before Muhlleitern, and therefore could easily cover the bridge thrown across the river at the distance of half a mile below Enzersdorf, over which his army passed as soon as it was completed. Though the projected Austrian cannonade was anticipated by that of Napoleon, it nevertheless took place: it began about eleven o'clock, from the whole line of entrenchments, and continued till the break of day. In the mean time, Napoleon, by his passage of the river, had broken through General Nordmann's chain of posts.

At day-break on the 5th, Napoleon's troops were already seen marching in considerable force upon Enzersdorf. General Nordmann, who was too weak to oppose them, retreated, and abandoned Enzersdorf as soon as he saw it turned. Napoleon now rested his left wing on the town; and the passage of his whole force, as well as the deployment of his columns, was effected between ten and eleven o'clock. This being accomplished, his left wing, which had hitherto rested on Enzersdorf, was ordered to advance upon Esslingen.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, when the 1st, 2d, and 4th corps of the Austrian army had been ordered under arms, and taken up their ground behind the Russbach, they began to throw up redoubts upon the front of it; but the workmen were soon dispersed by the heavy cannonade from Napoleon's advancing columns. These columns having entirely disembarrassed themselves of the 6th corps, and that of General Nordmann, deployed,
about

about six o'clock, between Aderkla and Groshoven, and formed a flank from Aderkla towards Leopoldau. After a terrible cannonade on the whole line between Aderkla and Groshoven, which was continued about an hour, Napoleon formed columns of attack on the centre of the position: these columns passed the Russbach in two points, between Baumersdorf and Wagram, took possession of that part of the village of Baumersdorf which lies on the right side of that rivulet, and began to ascend the steep bank on the other. By this attack, of which the momentary success was perhaps owing to its suddenness, the first line of the Austrians was broken; but good order was immediately restored—and on this occasion the Archduke Charles displayed great personal bravery, as well as the most striking presence of mind. By the dispositions which he made, the enemy's columns were driven back across the Russbach in confusion, and with considerable loss. Night broke in upon these events; and it was only under its cover, that the French, who had been thrown into great disorder, could have again formed, which they did beyond the reach of the Austrian cannon. The Austrians secured the river by posts, and both parties passed the night under arms.

It was determined by the Austrians to make an attack from both flanks the next day, but its execution was much impeded by the following circumstances. First, the Austrian army was weaker, by 40,000 men, than Napoleon's: the latter had 25,000 cavalry, but the Austrians not more than 9 or 10,000. The French were also superior in artillery. At the commencement of the battle, there were, at most, forty twelve-pounders in play, the remainder being six-pounders. The second impediment was not less essential. The dispositions for the attack were not completed till midnight, and the interval was too short to admit of distant corps receiving their orders in sufficient time for the due execution. The distance between head-quarters and Neusiedel, where the fourth corps was posted, was not more than one league and a half, and this corps had been stationary on the preceding day. On the other hand, the right wing, including the reserve of cavalry, had been engaged in various movements. The night was dark, and rendered it difficult, in some instances, to ascertain the situation of

corps, while the communication required the assistance of patrols. Napoleon's patrols swept the plain of Sussenbrunn. Finally, the post-house of Stammersdorf, where the head-quarters of the sixth and the third Austrian corps were established, was distant three leagues by the direct road from the general head-quarters. On this account, the orders issued in consequence of the disposition, did not reach this point till two or half-past two o'clock. As the third corps encamped on the right of the sixth, a counter-march, therefore, became necessary, in order to give each corps of the army its prescribed direction. It was nearly four o'clock before the formation of the columns could be completed; besides which, the troops had two leagues to march before they could close with the enemy; it was, therefore, not possible for these corps to attack, at break of day, agreeably to orders. The fourth corps, which, on the other hand, had received orders in sufficient time, and therefore could carry them into execution, attacked before the right wing had completed the formation of its columns.

No accounts being received of the approach of the Archduke John, and as there was no indication of it, the danger to which the fourth corps had been exposed, began to be sensibly felt. To remedy this fault, orders were sent to Prince Rosenberg to fall back, after his corps had been pushed forward alone and unsupported to Gros-hoven. But the French columns pressed upon its rear; and though they were not able to molest it seriously in its retreat to Neusiedel, this retrograde movement made no good impression upon the feelings of that portion of the army which was soon to be exposed to the most violent attacks. Prince John, previous to this, had been in Italy, where he was opposed to Marmont; but both armies being now concentrated, Marmont's corps had been ordered, on its arrival, to cross the Danube on the night of the 4th and 5th of July, where it formed part of the reserve, yet in the action of the 6th it was in the centre of Napoleon's army.

The fourth corps having attacked in front the position of Marshal Davoust, and having crossed and re-crossed the Russbach, under a most severe fire, it lost from 2 to 3000 men in killed and wounded, and had above 20 of its
cannon

cannon dismounted. The first corps which, at day-break, had debouched through Wagram, found Aderkla evacuated, and a part of the regiment of Klenau was pushed forwards to reconnoitre. The French again took possession of the village of Aderkla, but were soon obliged to abandon it. For a long time, however, it was the bone of contention, being repeatedly taken and lost by both parties, till at length it remained in the hands of the Austrians. In the mean time, the columns of the third and sixth corps slowly approached to the scene of action, the progress of the infantry being retarded by the necessity of marching through corn-fields. The grenadiers, however, arrived in sufficient time to take a share in the contest for the possession of Aderkla.

The Austrian line had at length succeeded in forming in front of this village; and all the corps united their fire with that of the batteries, with tremendous effect, on Napoleon's centre, which began to fall back upon Raschdorf. During this time the 6th corps, which had moved through Hirschstetten, found the village of Aspern, and the wood along the Danube, occupied by the division of Boudet; but as the right wing of his division was separated at too great an interval from Napoleon's centre, some tirailleurs and some infantry were taken by the hussars of Lichtenstein, which were between the 3d and the 6th corps.

These events determined Napoleon to order General Boudet to make an immediate retreat, which he hastily effected through Aspern, and the wood on the banks of the Danube. The 6th Austrian corps now advanced through Aspern and Esslingen, and, by its tirailleurs, cleared the wood, which was but feebly defended by the French.

After the retreat of his centre, Napoleon, with a numerous artillery, formed one line *appuyé* on the left to Enzersdorf, and continued behind a gentle curtain to Neuwirthshaus, a solitary farm-house situated in front of Raschdorf. From this point his line was retired, and kept at some distance from the Russbach, opposite to the village of Baumersdorf, which lay before the 2d corps, and formed a *tête-de-pont* on that river.

Napoleon directed, about nine in the morning, a violent and incessant fire to be opened along the whole line
of

of these respective positions, from the centre to his left wing; which was answered from the centre and right wing of the Austrians, without an inch of ground being lost on either side. All the Austrian reserves were in the line; but the cavalry of the centre, being too much weakened by detachments sent to the 4th corps on the left wing, could not take advantage of the disorder which evidently appeared to prevail among Napoleon's troops, when his centre was compelled to retreat. For whole hours there was a complete suspension of movements in these lines; but, in the mean time, reinforcements of every arm were seen arriving at the left wing of the French. On the other hand, events had taken an unfavourable turn in the Austrian left wing, and great advantage had been given to the enemy by recalling the order for attack given to the 4th corps, and by the consequences of that change. Napoleon's artillery on the right wing had also caused the 4th corps to feel, very materially, its great superiority. No where in the whole line was the disproportion of strength so visible as in this point, by far the most important for the Austrians. After a tremendous cannonade, during which one half of the Austrian artillery was dismounted, the infantry of Marshal Davoust formed themselves for the attack on Neusiedel. The regiment of Ferdinand and the hussars of Hesse Homburg made, indeed, some charges on this infantry; but they were attended with no advantage, while the retreat of the infantry of the 4th corps became the more indispensable, as it had long been outflanked. This retreat, however, was effected by battalions, and in good order, in the direction of Bockflies, across an immense plain, which did not present any maintainable ground.

During these occurrences the left wing (or the 4th corps of the Austrian army) had been supported only by some brigades of infantry detached from the 2d corps. The action was exceedingly warm, particularly at Neusiedel, which was defended for a considerable time, and where an Hungarian brigade, consisting of Hiller and Sztaray's regiments, commanded by the Prince of Hesse Homburg, made a long resistance. The progress made by Napoleon's right wing, and the loss of the village of Neusiedel, soon exposed the left wing, and even the rear of the 2d corps,

corps, to no small danger. Besides this, it had continued engaged in a violent cannonade on the Russbach, and therefore found itself obliged, as Napoleon advanced, to cause its left wing to fall back, and to form with an angle, in order to oppose the movements of the right wing of the French; for in proportion as the enemy followed the 4th corps, it got farther in the rear of the positions of the 2d corps, whose change of front was effected, like the retreat of the 4th corps, in perfect order; and the French prosecuted their advantages slowly, and always under a heavy fire of cannon. Towards one in the afternoon, the position of both armies was exceedingly singular. The Austrian army rested its right wing upon Esslingen, whence the line was bent back in the direction of Aderkla; crossed the Russbach at no great distance from that place; extended on this rivulet to Baumersdorf, and, after the loss of Neusiedel, formed thence a flank in the direction of Bockflies. Napoleon's line, which rested its left wing on the Danube, extended in a direction parallel to the Austrians, at the distance of a cannon-shot. The left wing of the Austrians was, at this time, in full retreat. The centre, however, and the right wing, remained firm, and maintained, uninterruptedly, a brisk cannonade. But the farther the left wing retired, the more did the 2d corps necessarily partake of this movement, while, at the same time, it was still engaged in the cannonade on the Russbach. The result was, that between two and three in the afternoon, the army formed in a line perpendicular to the Danube. The right wing resting on the Danube, extended from Esslingen to Aspern; the centre stood at Wagram, and the left wing towards Bockflies.

At this period, the retrograde movement of the left wing began to be communicated, by degrees, to the army, and the whole line moved back in masses of battalions, *en échiquier*, towards the road from Vienna to Brunn; Napoleon's columns followed slowly, and with intervals. The left wing of his army, strengthened by cavalry, now defiled in column along the Danube, with an apparent intention of turning the right wing of the Austrians, which was certainly exposed to this danger, as it had maintained itself longest in the positions which it occupied. He, however, confined himself to a demonstration; for

for though only one regiment of hussars was attached to this wing, it was not attacked by the French very superior cavalry.

The entrenchments between Aspern and Esslingen, which had been again occupied with artillery, were evacuated, as on the 5th, without the smallest loss. The troops retired to Leopoldau; and this retrograde movement continued until towards six in the afternoon, step by step, when the army made a kind of halt. After halting half an hour, the Austrian army resumed its retreat, although not without loss; for a battalion of the Hungarian regiment of Duka, having protracted its movement when the right wing quitted Leopoldau, was attacked by the French cavalry, and lost one-half of its men. Previous to this, when they retired from the heights of Wagram, the Austrians had been obliged to leave some dismounted pieces of cannon. Another battery was taken by the French cavalry as they defiled through Aderkla; but it was almost immediately retaken by Rosenberg's regiment of light horse. The cavalry reserve of the centre found itself, for a moment, opposite to, and at a very small distance from, a much stronger column of enemy's cavalry; but as they were separated by a ditch, nothing of consequence took place. It was here that General La Salle was killed by a cannon-shot. The Polish light horse afterwards attacked some squadrons of the regiments of Klenau and Schwartzenberg, behind Gernsdorf, but they were beaten back.

In regard, however, to the main object, all these petty affairs produced nothing decisive. Both sides continued to cannonade each other, and the Austrian right wing gradually drew off from the Danube, by moving towards Stammersdorf, where the 5th corps of the army at length also became engaged, after having remained the whole day inactive in its position. The Archduke Charles's regiment of Hulans, with some artillery, maintained its ground on the road to Prague, and in that point kept the enemy in check. About nine o'clock the fire ceased, and the troops remained till midnight in the position above described.

In maintaining the action with their left wing, the Austrians had continued to rest their hopes on the arrival of the Archduke John, and the diversion which would

would thus be occasioned. His movement was, however, executed too late to be of any use: he halted at Marchek until eleven in the forenoon; he then continued his march, and therefore did not reach Obersiebenbrunn until between six and seven in the evening, where having heard of the retreat of the army, he immediately determined upon retrograding to Marchek. His hussars forming the advance had penetrated as far as Neusiedel, where they not only took some prisoners, but even gave a momentary alarm to the French reserve, with which Napoleon had remained at Raschdorf.

At all events, this would have secured his arriving at day-break, and there was every probability that he would have found means to unite himself to the left wing. It was, however, under any contingency, dangerous to place implicit reliance on his arrival; and there can be no doubt that it would have been much safer to have given him orders to march on the 3d, as he could then have joined the army on the 4th, would not have been exposed to any of the before-mentioned dangers; and, on the other hand, might have taken a share in the battle with refreshed troops. In the morning of the 6th, the Archduke Charles, having dispatched one of his aides-de-camp, in order to hasten the march of his brother, this officer unexpectedly fell in with the rear of Grouchy's division, which was on the point of making a movement on the left flank of the Austrians, and he owed his escape to the fleetness of his horse.

We have thus given a correct statement of the circumstances which marked the important and decisive action of the 5th and 6th of July. The artillery employed on these days was numerous, and was served with great vivacity on both sides. The Austrian army displayed much bravery and great perseverance in its efforts; and its eagerness to engage had not been less remarkable. The artillery surpassed itself, and its loss in men was very considerable. The movements of Napoleon are stated to have displayed greater boldness on the 5th than on the 6th, when his conduct conveyed an impression, that to maintain the ground he had gained was more his object than a decided victory. The Austrian army lost, in killed (among whom were four generals), wounded, and prisoners, 20,000 men: the number of the prisoners might be about 5 or 6000. The French lost, on the

5th, from 3 to 4000 men on the heights of Russbach. The loss in men, upon the whole, was pretty nearly equal; and the case was the same in regard to trophies. The Austrians lost, on both days, 11 or 12 cannon; the French, on the other hand, lost 10 on the morning of the 6th, and had about 20,000 men killed and wounded.

Such are the leading features of this important battle; in detailing which we have followed the Austrian account, which differs in some degree from Napoleon's; he having stated that the night between the 5th and 6th was passed on his part in concentrating his force, whilst the Austrian force was weakened in their centre, supposed to be for the purpose of strengthening their wings, where the greatest part of the artillery was planted; but this seemed so strange a measure to Napoleon, that at first he was suspicious of some stratagem, until, perceiving that it was only a blunder, he boasted of having taken advantage of it. Still does it appear that in every part of the battle, as far as regarded musquetry and the bayonet, the superiority lay with the Austrians, so that victory might in the end have been their's, had not Napoleon brought almost the whole of his cannon to bear upon the centre of the Archduke's army, already weakened by previous manœuvres; and this heavy fire being unanswered for want of artillery in that quarter, a passage was soon cut through the centre, which was in fact driven back three miles, so that both flanks being now afraid of being cut off in their communication, found it necessary to retire into Moravia, leaving the field of battle to Napoleon.

The military operations were now put an end to by an armistice, which was signed on the 12th of July, very much to the advantage of Napoleon, as all the strong places which he demanded the possession of until a definitive treaty, were actually given up to him. This was followed up by a definitive treaty on the 14th of October, by which Napoleon acquired all the sea-coasts of Austria, and also obliged her to yield up the Tyrol and several other territories for the aggrandisement of Bavaria and Saxony, two powers raised by Napoleon's policy to form a balance against the other potentates in that quarter of Europe. By this treaty Russia also obtained a considerable part of Galicia; and the Emperor Francis was forced to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte king of Spain.

Napoleon

Napoleon returned to Paris; and, on the 3d of December, he opened the Legislative Body with a pompous detail of his various conquests: and it must be confessed, that never had he so much reason to boast as on this occasion, having subdued every power that was capable of giving him disturbance, or that might threaten the glory and stability of his empire.

However the military glory of Napoleon might have been raised by his recent achievements, and however his power might have been established by them, an event now took place, which tended more to his aggrandisement than any which we have yet recorded; and this was his alliance with the Imperial House of Austria, by his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. This event must have taken place in consequence of articles to that effect in the late treaty with Austria; for, soon after his return to Paris, he immediately began to take steps to bring about the intended union by obtaining a divorce from Josephine, which was very soon accomplished.

As soon as his various arrangements were made, he dispatched the Prince of Neufchatel to Vienna, on the 25th of February, to demand the hand of the Archduchess; and on the 27th of the month he notified this event to the Senate, informing them at the same time that a contract had already been entered into with her father for that purpose. The business had been so completely arranged, that, a very few days after his ambassador's arrival at the Austrian capital, the usual ceremony was performed, the Archduke Charles himself acting as bridegroom on the occasion, as Napoleon's proxy. The ceremony took place on the 11th of March, with all the splendour usually displayed in alliances with the most powerful monarchs. Soon after which, the new Empress set off from Paris, by a road literally strewed with flowers*.

Having

* The following picture of the Archduchess cannot be unacceptable to our readers: it is contained in a private letter from Vienna. "The world is widely mistaken in supposing that the young Archduchess Maria Louisa is about to be led like a lamb to the sacrifice. She was herself the prime mover of Napoleon's marvellous attachment; the whole ambition of her soul being to enslave, by her charms, the conqueror of the universe. She has succeeded to the extent of her ambition, and within a few days will be invested with the Imperial diadem.

Having thus strengthened and consolidated his power by an illustrious alliance, Napoleon would have had little to fear from any hostility abroad, had not his own unprincipled ambition led him into enterprises far beyond his power to accomplish; but, thinking, from his unparalleled fortune, that every thing must yield to his mighty force, he directed all his thoughts and attention to one object—that of making Europe tributary to France. For this purpose, ever since his last successful campaign, he directed every measure for the accomplishment of this object. It would, however, have been wiser, if, before he proceeded in his plans, he had sent such a force into Spain, as would have effectually put an end to the war. It has been said, indeed, that his object in *procrastinating* the contest in Spain was for the avowed purpose of carrying on a financial war against Great Britain; if so, his plan was a most injudicious one: but we are rather disposed to account for his conduct on the difficulty of finding supplies for a larger force than that which he had in the Spanish Peninsula,

Soon after Napoleon's return, in the early part of the year 1812, from a tour of observation in the Low Countries, he began to form plans for the execution of his projects against Russia, which country had already begun to retrace her steps with respect to the Continental System. His first proceeding in those ulterior plans which he had in view was to raise a considerable sum of money; which was partly done by a decree of the 21st of January, by which he annexed to his extraordinary domain a property in Spain equal to 200,000,000 of livres, about £10,000,000

At this moment she is gay, even to wildness; but she can be affected by various passions. I have seen her weep; I have seen her frown, and in an instant become mild and amiably condescending: in these felicitous moments her voice is fascinatingly melodious. In figure she is a little above the middle size, gracefully formed in the neck and shoulders, with a complexion of the most dazzling whiteness; her nose somewhat inclined to the Roman; eyes of the most brilliant blue; and a profusion of shining flaxen hair, that reaches nearly to the ground; her hands and feet most delicately shaped: her lips are truly Austrian; however, when opened by a smile, they discover a set of teeth most beautifully arranged, and exquisitely white. I remember to have seen her aunt taken from her mother in just such a transitory blaze of beauty, joyfully expecting to fill a long-established throne; and afterwards I saw her fall the most degraded victim of her barbarian subjects—on a scaffold.

sterling,

sterling, which he professed to be for the purpose of rewarding his officers and men in that country ! His next step was to order General Friant, with a large force, to occupy Swedish Pomerania, which was instantly done ; Stralsund being taken possession of on the 26th of the month, partly as a *point d'appui*, or of support, for the left wing of the grand army when it should advance, and partly as a pledge for the quiescence of Sweden, or perhaps with hopes of forcing her co-operation during the ensuing campaign.

In March, Napoleon, having nearly completed his preparations, began to develope his intentions, by ordering Maret to deliver a report to the Conservative Senate, in which he once more attacked the maritime policy of Great Britain ; praised the Emperor for his resolution to support the liberty of the seas, in concert with his good friends, the Americans ; declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees should remain in full force against all such powers as permitted their flags to be denationalized ; and informed France and the world, that his master had called out the greatest part of his troops in order to enforce those decrees—a declaration which fully pointed out that Russia was the object of his present plans, as she was the only power who dared to counteract them. So anxious was Napoleon to take every disposable soldier from France, that he ordered National Guards to be formed for the home duty out of all the conscripts for the six preceding years, who had not been called to the army ; and, early in the spring, his whole force, accompanied by the Rhenish contingents, was in full march for the Polish frontiers.

Towards the end of March, Marshal Ney had advanced so far as to fix his head-quarters at Weimar, whilst at the same time Napoleon's own field-equipage had arrived at Dresden ; previous to which he had forced the Prussian monarch to consent to a treaty which placed the greatest part of that kingdom, with its resources, more at his disposal than it had even been by his military occupation : he also determined to avail himself of the popular feeling in Poland, and for that purpose withdrew from Spain all his Polish regiments. So that before April was closed, Europe saw the troops of various nations advancing in crowds for the borders of Russia, as if with the intention of overwhelming that country, and erasing it,

it, as indeed Napoleon declared, from the map of nations!

On the 9th of May, Napoleon set off from Paris, attended by Berthier, and accompanied as far as Metz by the Empress Maria Louisa; from whence he again set out, accompanied by the Empress, for Dresden, arriving there on the 16th, where a meeting was proposed to take place with the Emperor and Empress of Germany.

It would be tedious to recite all the diplomacy which took place previous to the actual commencement of hostilities (the Emperor of Russia having already advanced to join that part of his army which was at Wilna under the command of General Barclay de Tolly); it is sufficient to observe, that Napoleon, finding his armies well advanced, suddenly quitted the Imperial festivities at Dresden, and proceeded on the 7th of June to Dantzic, on a tour of military observation, partly in hopes of facilitating a meeting which he was endeavouring to procure with the Emperor Alexander, in which he hoped to terrify or cajole him into acquiescence with all his plans, and thus to receive such security for his Continental System as would render an appeal to arms unnecessary.

In this, however, he failed; but so anxious was he to bear down every thing before him with an overwhelming force, that he had also negotiated a treaty with his father-in-law, by which Austria was to furnish 24,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, and 60 pieces of artillery, whenever he should call on them to march to his assistance. Finding that negotiations with Russia were not to be expected, Napoleon, on the 22d of June, issued a bulletin from the head-quarters of his grand army, stating, that peace being no longer practicable, he had given orders for a general advance towards the Niemen. His army consisted of no less than nine divisions, whose force was never exactly known, but most certainly not less than 300,000; of which it was well observed, that never, in modern Europe, were forces so numerous, and composed of such various people, led under a single command to the decision of a political contest. Such a force, too, was so much greater than any which Russia could oppose to it, that a defensive plan, and indeed a very judicious one, was the only thing that could be opposed to the threatened invasion.

On the 11th of June, Napoleon joined Marshal Davoust
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at Königsberg; and, having caused three bridges to be thrown over the Niemen, his army crossed on the evening of the 23d, and on the 24th he advanced as far as Kowno, on the Russian side of it, whilst the remainder of his troops were pushing forward, and his advance driving before them all the light Russian corps of observation. He next pushed on for Wilna, which had for some time been the residence of the Emperor Alexander, but which was now given up without a contest, but not until the Russian army had burnt the bridge, and destroyed the magazines.

On the 28th Napoleon entered that city, and ordered the bridge to be re-constructed, whilst his advance, under Oudinot, after crossing the Vilia, near Kowno, which took place on the 25th, obliged Wittgenstein, the Russian general commanding the first corps, to evacuate Samogitia, and fall back upon Wilkomuz, which he was also forced to leave, but not until he had set fire to whatever might be useful to the invaders. The Russian troops still continued retreating, closely followed by Napoleon's advanced guard, until the 7th of July, when they concentrated on the banks of the Dwina.

Napoleon's advance was so extremely rapid, that his advanced guard took possession of Novogrodeck and Minsk, as early as the 2d of July, whilst Prince Bagration found himself obliged to retreat upon the Dnieper, in consequence of his march towards Wilna being interrupted. In fact, Napoleon was now master of the whole grand-duchy of Lithuania, where he organized a provisional government, and called out a national guard and gendarmerie, occupying his new conquest with the Austrian contingent under Prince Schwartzenberg.

At this moment the main Russian army was in a strongly entrenched camp at Drissa, on the banks of the river Dwina; but from this they were obliged to retire, on the 18th of July, towards Witepsk, and there they were joined, on the following day, by the Emperor Alexander himself. But the passage of the river being thus left free, Murat took advantage of it, and, on the 20th, marched over the whole of the cavalry, extending it along the right bank.

On the 25th of July, Napoleon's advanced guard pushed on as far as Ostrowno, where a smart action took place, with a considerable loss on both sides.

The Russian army now fell back upon Smolensko; and,

and, on the 28th, Napoleon's advance reached Witepsk, after a bloody battle between Bagration and Davoust, near Mohilow, accompanied by another between Wittgenstein and Oudinot, at Polotsk, on the 30th and 31st, when victory was on the side of the Russians, though followed necessarily by a retreat, in compliance with the plan of the campaign, which was to fight, to harass, and to fall back.

On the 30th, the fortress of Dunaburg was carried by storm by the advanced French corps; and on the 1st of August, another battle took place which Napoleon represented as completely victorious to the French arms. Nevertheless, he found it necessary to order his advance into quarters of refreshment for some days; from whence, however, they were put in motion again on the 12th of August, on which day Murat and Davoust marched upon the Dnieper, in order to obtain possession of Smolensko, at which city the principal force of the Russians was now assembled.

No sooner did the French army appear on the surrounding heights of Smolensko, than the aged, the women, and children, fled from the place, in hopes of escaping from the ensuing horrors. Many fled as far as Moscow, others to places in the vicinity, and some thousands on the heights on which the Russian army was posted, anxiously waiting as sad spectators of the awful moment of contest now approaching, but hoping that victory would enable them to return to their habitations. The Russian generals, however, were prepared for reverses, and had taken measures to carry off every thing valuable, both of public and of private property, as soon as the approach of the invaders was ascertained.

On the 16th, Napoleon, who had quitted Witepsk on the 13th, had taken the command of the main army near Smolensko; and he instantly reconnoitred not only the city, but also the position which the Russians occupied on the opposite side of the river; and, having discovered that but a small force was left to occupy the place, he issued orders for an assault on the entrenched suburbs, he himself, at the same time, intending to destroy the three bridges, and by this means to cut off the communication with the main army, so as to prevent all assistance to the city; which of course he expected would render
Smolensko

Smolensko an easy conquest, and oblige the Russians to retreat without hazarding a general action.

The right of his army he then gave to the Polish general, Prince Poniatowski; to Davoust he entrusted the centre; and to Ney he gave the service on the left; in the rear he formed two reserves of cavalry and of the Imperial guards, where he himself was posted: and thus the whole army advanced towards the scene of action.

The morning of the 17th of August now dawned upon the combatants, and a short but awful pause took place. At length the dreadful silence was broken: from the extreme point of the Russian right to their left, the artillery opened a destructive fire, whilst the rapid discharges of musquetry along the whole front produced a most horrible scene of carnage during the attack of the French, which was not less vigorous or terrific.

The battle was soon raging with fury in all quarters; and, in spite of the dreadful fire from the Russian artillery, Napoleon pushed his troops on to the entrenched suburbs, where they attacked the Russian troops with the bayonet at the very muzzles of their guns, and the havoc now became prodigious. In fact, the ground along the whole line was now covered with the dead and dying, yet it still seemed impossible that the firmness of the Russians should be shaken, as for upwards of two hours they maintained the bloody contest, and stood like a rock in opposition to every assault of the assailants. In short, they stood until their movements were actually impeded by the number of the slain; and, being now hard pressed by the fresh troops which Napoleon ordered up to the assault, they judged it prudent to quit the entrenchments, and to retire into the city, but not without disputing every inch of the ground.

Napoleon now ordered a heavy fire to commence upon Smolensko, which Barclay de Tolli proposed to defend for a few hours at least, in order to give Bagration's army time to take up another position on the road to Moscow, where he intended also to join it, at Dorogobouche. To further this delay, De Tolli threw up rapidly some temporary defences, whilst the various columns of his army were in motion. Whilst Napoleon pushed on the work of death, the dreadful hours of de-

struction were rolling on, during the repeated attempts to enter the place, where, when the walls fell beneath the cannonade, the courage of the Russians breasted the breaches, and repulsed the attacks, until the once flourishing city of Smolensko began to present a dreadful scene of destruction to the eye, as every magazine was now destroyed, every edifice fired, which was likely to afford resources to Napoleon's troops. Even the few inhabitants still remaining in the place were the first to set fire to it, so that the flames spread rapidly through every quarter; and the houses which were built of wood, quickly gave way to the flames, over the whole extent of this once opulent city, from whose centre now blazed forth vast volumes of fire and smoke, a scene which is thus awfully described in Napoleon's bulletins: "In the midst of a fine night in August, Smolensko offered to the eyes of the French the spectacle that presented itself to the inhabitants of Naples, during an eruption of Vesuvius." When the conflagration was complete, the Russian general, Korff, having destroyed the last communications across the Dnieper, followed the leading columns with his reserve; when Napoleon, perceiving that the Russians were in full retreat, and that the firing from the walls was now at an end, gave orders for his troops to occupy the city, which took place on the morning of the 18th of August. Napoleon boasted of the possession of Smolensko; but all that he obtained by it was its artillery and the ashes of its once happy habitations.

The next object of Napoleon was to pass his army over the Dnieper, which he did by means of a bridge thrown over that river a little above the town: by this means Ney was enabled to push on in pursuit of Barclay de Tolly, whilst Junot and Davoust had orders to pass over along the right bank upon the high road to Moscow, in hopes to cut off the communications of the Russian rear, under the command of General Korff, when a severe action took place; but so judicious were the movements of the Russians, and so promptly were reinforcements sent to them from the main army, that, after repeated attacks, Napoleon's advanced troops were obliged, on the night of the 15th of August, to leave the Russians completely masters of the field, so as to adopt such movements as were in unison with the general plan of procrastination

tination and retreat; when Korff, Titchagoff, and the Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded this gallant band of only 40,000 Russians, commenced a march towards Slob Pnèva, on the banks of the Dnieper.

Whilst the retreating Russians took every means in their power to check the advance of the invading army, by destroying the bridges, and cutting up the roads, Napoleon hurried on his troops, so that by the 23d of August he was in a position before Dorogobouche, to threaten the left flank of the concentrated first and second Russian armies; but the object of the Russian generals, which was to secure the arrival of their rear-guard, being now accomplished, the whole of their army was ordered to fall back, which they did through the three following days, in three massy columns, halting on the 26th of August to observe Napoleon's movements, being then in a position to hold communication with the town of Twer, a place of considerable consequence. No sooner had the Russian rear guard commenced its retreat, than the advance of Napoleon's troops pushed on in close pursuit. Some fighting daily took place, and though the Russian armies were concentrated at Viasma on the 27th, yet Barclay de Tolli not judging that place to be very favourable to military operations, gave instant directions that every thing which could be useful to the invaders should be destroyed. The unhappy inhabitants, having learnt experience by the fate of Smolensko, had made every preparation for securing whatever was portable; and as the place was almost completely evacuated, it was set fire to, whilst flames only appeared in the depopulated streets, shewing to Napoleon's troops that they should find no hospitable roofs in a country which they had filled with so many calamities.

No sooner was the town in flames, than the bridges were destroyed, and the whole Russian army retreated to Zarevo Zalomochi, where they halted, when Prince Kutusoff arrived to take the supreme command of the whole Russian army.

It is a well-known fact, that it was the universal wish of the whole Russian nation that this intrepid general should be now opposed to Napoleon, though a veteran of upwards of seventy years of age.

It was on the 28th of August that Kutusoff took the

command: on the ensuing morning he put the whole army in motion, as its position was not favourable to a general action; and on the 1st of September he halted in the vicinity of the village of Borodino, about six miles from the city of Mojaïsk, and on the great road leading to Moscow. Here he remained until the 5th of September, anxiously waiting for the advance of his assailant, as a general battle was now inevitable, and this he considered as the most important position in advance of the ancient Muscovite empire.

It was on the 30th of August that Napoleon reached Viasma; but there it was impossible to remain, even if he had wished it, and accordingly he moved on in three columns for Gehatz, where he arrived on the 1st of September, but found that ill-fated place in the same desolate condition with Smolensko and Viasma. Here he halted until the 4th of September, in order to give his troops necessary repose. He then moved forward on the morning of the 4th of September, and took post near the village of Grodneva, from whence, at dawn of the following day, he advanced, so as to come in sight of the Russian army about noon on that day, when he instantly dispatched reconnoitring parties in all directions, whose reports determined him to commence an attack in the direction of Bagration's division, which had some field-works in advance.

Napoleon's advance now pushed on in formidable bodies of infantry and cavalry, across the little stream of the Kalouga, and directed its march towards Bagration's line; but a strong redoubt was right in his line of march. The attack, therefore, was begun at this point with the utmost fury by the French, and was sustained with equal firmness by the Russians, who regarded, with the most intrepid coolness, the consolidated masses of their enemies advancing towards them with fixed bayonets. When the French came within gun-shot, a heavy fire from the Russian artillery and musquetry in the redoubt, checked their impetuosity for some time. Napoleon also attempted to carry a wood which defended the Russian position; and Prince Poniatowsky, by a movement considerably to his right, gained the left of the point in dispute, and detached a force in advance to make an assault in that quarter. These, again, were received with a heavy

heavy fire; but, as the first party, which had been repulsed, again advanced under cover of Poniatowsky's corps, a most desperate resistance on the part of the Russians could not prevent them from gaining possession of the unfinished and unpalisadoed fosse, when the action became actually a contest between man and man, so that guns were overthrown, cavalry became indiscriminately mixed with infantry, whilst the soldiery met breast to breast, grappling together till one or both sunk oppressed with loss of blood.

This scene of carnage continued for some time, so that the position was lost and gained four different times, until night put a stop to the affair, and left this hard-earned conquest in Napoleon's hands.

An awful pause of one day, *viz.* the 6th, now took place, which was employed by both armies in preparing for the dreadful conflict that was to ensue.

The result of the battle of the 5th had obliged Kutusoff to throw his left wing a little further back, nearer to the heights occupied by his artillery. Napoleon was also sedulous to derive every possible advantage from a position acquired with so much blood; for which purpose, he covered the height on which it stood with artillery, erecting also, during the night, two other batteries directly opposite to the Russian centre, in whose works alone there were upwards of 100 pieces of artillery. On his left, too, he had formed batteries presenting a range of 400 guns; and, as considerable detachments of artillery were also distributed amongst the troops, it appears that there were near 1000 pieces of cannon on Napoleon's side alone.

The night previous to the sanguinary battle of Borodino was passed with anxious suspense on both sides. Napoleon, at the early hour of two in the morning, took post on the position which he had previously selected. He was surrounded by all his Marshals; and though the night had been wet, yet the sun rose unclouded; on which he is said to have exclaimed, "It is the sun of Austerlitz! Although but September, it is as cold as December in Moravia." He addressed the following short proclamation to his army:—

SOLDIERS!—Before you is the field you have so ardently desired. The victory depends upon you. It is
necessary

necessary to you. It will give you abundance, good winter-quarters, and a quick return to your country. Conduct yourselves as when at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, at Smolensk; and the latest posterity will cite with pride your conduct on this day. They will say, *He was in that great battle under the walls of Moscow.*"

Napoleon now detached his generals to their different posts, and in an instant 140,000 men were in motion. It was exactly at four o'clock, that Davoust and Poniatowsky's divisions advanced towards the skirts of the wood on the left of the Russian line; but it was not until six that they were near enough to commence the attack, which was done under cover of seventy pieces of artillery, when a few minutes more brought them so near that the fire of musquetry was immediately begun. The firing soon became extended along that part of the line, and was immediately supported by a heavy cannonade from the redoubt which Napoleon had previously gained with so much slaughter.

No sooner did Napoleon find his right completely engaged with Bagration's division, than he ordered Ney to push on for the centre in a heavy massive column, under cover of a battery of no less than sixty pieces of artillery; and, at the same time, Beauharnois was directed to open a fire upon the right of the Russians, then posted at the village of Borodino.

Napoleon, with his accustomed skill, had contrived, whilst preserving the semblance of a general and extended attack along the whole line, to bring nearly one-half of his whole force to bear upon the Russian left. Both he and his troops, therefore, felt confidence in the superiority of numbers; his cavalry, in particular, shewed such a desperate resolution, as even to charge up to the very muzzles of the Russian artillery, where whole regiments of them, both men and horses, were mowed down by a rapid fire of round and grape, so as in a short time to form a breastwork of dead and dying along the whole front of Bagration's line.

For three hours did this work of carnage continue without intermission, when Napoleon, who now saw that he was unable to make such impression as he expected, ordered up Murat and Caulaincourt, with a division of infantry of
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the reserve, supported by several regiments of dragoons, and under cover of fifty additional pieces of artillery. These, with all the rapidity of fresh troops, rushed on to the assault, furiously passing over the bodies of their countrymen and fellow-soldiers, and advancing even to the very parapets of the Russian field-works: there, however, they were checked with a severe slaughter for a moment, but at length overturned whatever was opposed to them by the wearied troops of the first Russian line; so that Prince Bagration was obliged to order that line to fall back upon the second for support, a movement which Napoleon considered as decisive of the fortune of the day. He, therefore, instantly brought forward the whole of his right, and even turned the few guns which he found in the works upon their former possessors.

The moment was certainly a critical one: but Kutusoff instantly detached the grenadiers of the Russian reserve, together with a large body of cavalry, principally hulans and cuirassiers, to Bagration's assistance, who, though still hard pressed, no sooner received this reinforcement, than he rushed on to recover that ground from which he had been driven, thus changing defeat into assault. This movement was seen by the French generals, who determined to check it on the instant, by pouring in a heavy and most tremendous fire of artillery upon the advancing columns; but it was in vain: Bagration led on his troops; and, in a short time, they were on their old ground, where a most frightful contest again ensued. The Russian light troops and militia, stationed in the wood, were now ordered to advance upon the flank of the French; and these, it is stated, fell like lions on their prey, whilst the pikes and hatchets, or tomahawks, of the new-raised soldiers, were handled with such fury and effect, that the carnage they made amongst the French appeared more like a sudden desolation from an invisible hand, than as the deeds of human agency.

Such havoc could not long be supported, and the choicest of Napoleon's troops were obliged to give way, suffering an immense loss. On his left, also, Beauharnois, supported by Morand's division, had in vain made several attempts to get possession of Borodino. His assaults on the two redoubts which covered that position, were

were equally fruitless; so that, driven back at all points, without any apparent possibility of success, all thoughts of renewing those attacks were given up, and the troops withdrawn out of the range of fire, a circumstance which enabled Kutusoff to order part of the troops of his right for the reinforcement of the centre, where the battle, at that moment, raged with redoubled horrors. "Here the thunder of a thousand pieces of artillery was answered by the discharge of an equal number on the part of the Russians. A veil of smoke shut out the combatants from the sun, and left them no other light to pursue their work of death, than the flashes of the musquetry, which blazed in every direction. The sabres of 40,000 dragoons met each other, and clashed in the horrid gloom: and the bristling points of countless bayonets, bursting through the rolling vapour, strewed the earth with heaps of slain.

"Such was the dreadful scene that presented itself. The contest continued without intermission, until the darkness of night put an end to it; the French, discomfited in every quarter, took advantage of this circumstance, and drew off from the ground. When no object remained visible, the groans of the dying marked, to the victorious Russians, the extent of the disputed field. As they planted their night-watches, they found, at every step, full proof that hereafter the renowned days of Austerlitz, Eylau, and Wagram, sanguinary as they were, must ever cede, in blood and honour, to the battle of Borodino.

"Thus closed that memorable day, and with it terminated the lives of 80,000 human beings. Hitherto the annals of military achievements have never detailed so terrible a slaughter. Well might Buonaparte exclaim, as he abandoned the field, 'Never has any before us seen such a field of battle!'

"The loss on both sides was immense: and the scene of triumph, even to the conquerors, presented a tremendous spectacle. The ground, covered with the dead bodies of men and horses, scattered arms, dismounted guns, and pieces of artillery left to the victors, offered every where to the eye the wreck of what might alone have composed a great army."

Napoleon and his troops now fell back a distance of six miles

miles from the field of battle: but the reinforcements which he had ordered up were now on their road; and in a short time after the battle he was joined by ten battalions of infantry, together with many regiments of cavalry, several hundred carts of ammunition and stores, besides a new supply of field-guns. He, therefore, soon began to retrace his steps, and to advance again upon Kutusoff, who had found it necessary to retire in order to give his troops some repose. Napoleon pushed on in person with the most formidable part of his force in pursuit of Kutusoff, whilst he detached other corps in the direction of Moscow. This indeed soon became the line of march of the whole French army; for the Russian general had concentrated his forces, retiring upon the capital, through which he passed without halting, turning to the right, and taking up a strong position at a short distance from Podol.

Moscow being thus left open, on the 14th of September Napoleon advanced as far as this capital of the ancient Muscovites, and halted before its gates about noon on that memorable day. Whatever expectations Napoleon might have formed from the rapid progress he had made, and from those bloody victories which he had obtained, they were all soon to be blasted by the ardent patriotism of the Russians, who determined to lay waste every spot that might afford shelter to their invading enemy; and they accordingly came to the desperate resolution of destroying Moscow, rather than it should afford any shelter to the French army. For this purpose dispatches had been previously sent to Count Rostopchin, the governor, to fire the city in case of necessity.

No sooner had the intelligence of this design been made known, than scenes of the utmost confusion and distress took place. Nothing was heard around but shrieks and groans; and on all sides were to be seen mothers and wives taking leave of sons and husbands, who were determined to abide by their native city whilst it could be maintained, or at least attend upon the governor until its destruction was insured. In one quarter were seen children taking their last farewell of their fathers; whilst in others might be observed the aged of both sexes, refusing to be carried away, and declaring their intention to die by the tombs of their parents and relatives. Carts

and carriages of all descriptions, crowded with old and young, filled the streets; many of their passengers lying along in all the agony of silent woe, and others making the air resound with curses upon the tyrant whose cruel and insatiable ambition had brought these calamities upon their country. But the means of conveyance could only be procured by a few: multitudes were forced to fly on foot: so that the once happy city of Moscow now poured forth from her bosom weeping crowds of her desolate children. Some fled to friends at a distance; others knew not where to go, but sought a refuge from the enemy in the compassionate charity of the neighbouring provinces; many turned on their steps; some women, clinging to the objects of their tenderest vows, found it impossible to desert the spot which *they* staid to defend; and many old men tottered back to their paternal sheds, exclaiming, "Where we were born and nourished, there will we die."

It was in the midst of such a scene that Rostopchin was obliged to obey his orders, after delaying their execution to the very last moment, and until he found all entreaties vain to persuade the few remaining inhabitants to accompany the retreat of the garrison, amounting to about 40,000 men, with whom he set off to join the main army, when we are assured that "the few who now remained, and had strength to assemble in one body; the feeble from age, and the tender from affection, the devoted patriot, and the desperate avenger; they met in a little band, determined to expire in the flames of the city, rather than behold its sacred towers become the bulwarks of the assassins who had desolated their homes and murdered their peace."

Such was the situation of Moscow at the very moment when Napoleon arrived before its gates, which were instantly forced by the advanced guard, commanded by Beauharnois and Murat, who entered in all the pride of conquest, and advanced towards the Kremlin, where some of the remaining citizens had taken post and closed the gates. A feeble discharge of musquetry now took place by this little self-constituted garrison, but which served only as an excuse to the invaders for bloodshed and murder; for this ancient fortress was instantly stormed, as Napoleon said, and the unhappy citizens put
to

to death without mercy. This seems to have been the signal for destruction; an event which appears not to have taken place until after Rostopchin left the city. Yet it is a fact, that the flames broke out nearly at the same instant in various quarters, as if from a premeditated plan, rather than from the simultaneous impulse of the moment. The French troops, as they poured into this devoted city, soon spread themselves in every direction in search of plunder; and in their progress they committed outrages so horrid on the persons of all whom they discovered, that fathers, desperate to save their children from pollution, set fire to their various places of refuge to find a surer asylum in the flames. At this moment, it is asserted, that the streets, the houses, and the cellars, flowed with blood, and were filled with violation and carnage; whilst manhood seemed to be lost in the French soldier, as nothing was to be discerned in him but the wild beast ravening for prey, "or rather the fiend of hell, gluttoning himself in the commission of every horrid crime."

Of the atrocities of the French troops, Napoleon was certainly not an eye-witness, as he had stopped at the Smolensko barrier, in hopes that the magistracy of the city would have come out to implore his clemency. There he remained during the whole of the 15th, until the evening; but no deputation arriving, he then gave orders for his guard to advance, when he entered Moscow in sullen silence, taking possession of the ancient capital of the Czars, and that without either the beating of drums, the discharge of artillery, or any of that parade with which it had been his practice on all former occasions to gratify the military and national pride of his troops. He now directed his march towards the Kremlin, his heart torn with every feeling of vengeance and disappointed pride; and so little command had he of himself, that it is positively said, he called around him his most confidential officers, and openly expressed to them his indignation at the manner in which he had been received; when these base satellites, taking their tone from his rage, not only enlarged upon the opposition which the troops met with in the place, but also stated the *contempt* shewn by the citizens to be an affront deserving of the most exemplary punishment.

That Napoleon would instantly have given way to the impulse of his rage, by ordering some measures even more dreadful than those which had already taken place, is extremely probable, had not his attention been called to his own personal comfort and safety; for, even at the very moment whilst he was engaged with his generals, he was informed that a fire had broken out in the Kremlin itself. He was no longer capable of giving those cold-blooded orders for vengeance, which he had distinguished himself by on so many former occasions; but, boiling with rage and fury, he threatened revenge upon all concerned in it, and instantly ordered that every Russian who could be taken near the spot should be brought to his presence. His guards soon succeeded in collecting about one hundred of the citizens, whom they brought for his inspection to an open space near the cathedral, in front of the Kremlin. There Napoleon examined them personally, promising them their lives and a full pardon if they would confess the deed and the instigators to it, and would swear allegiance to himself, but threatening them with his direst vengeance on failure of compliance. Notwithstanding his repeated interrogatories, and repeated threats, a stern and solemn silence was maintained by those devoted patriots; when the invader's patience became exhausted, and, finding that neither threats nor promises could shake their loyal fidelity, he instantly gave orders for them to be shot.

The night of the 15th was spent as the preceding one by the soldiery, in all the horrors of excess and murder, in opposition to all discipline and subordination, and amidst increasing flames, which Napoleon now feared would destroy the whole city; and which, indeed, nearly took place, for although he ordered all the officers to use every means in their power to stop the progress of the combustion, yet for four days these flames raged with uncontrolled fury, not being got under until late in the evening of the 20th of September.

Napoleon now found himself under considerable embarrassment, not only to find quarters for his army, but also in his attempts to check the rising spirit of insubordination and disappointment among them; for, whilst on his march, when the troops first perceived the spires and minarets of the capital, he told them—"Be-

hold

hold the end of your campaign ! its gold and its plenty are your's !"

Whilst Napoleon was in some measure shut up in the Kremlin, the army of Kutusoff was daily receiving reinforcements, particularly of Cossacks, who were impelled not only by patriotism, but also by the hopes of personal plunder, to come forward to the amount of twenty additional pulks, or regiments ; whilst the Russians of all classes displayed their love for their country by every personal sacrifice which they possibly could make ; the ladies even disrobing themselves of every ornament to augment the national treasury, and devoting their wardrobes, and their industry, to the formation of warm clothing for the troops, of bandages for the wounded, and in administering food, shelter, and raiment, to the unfortunates, whom the chance of war and a necessary policy had driven from their dwellings.

Against such patriotism it was in vain for Napoleon to contend ; yet he still lingered amidst the ruins of Moscow, until he found himself nearly surrounded by almost a new, yet in a great measure veteran force, assembled by the promptness and activity of Kutusoff and Winzingerode.

An accurate picture has been drawn of his situation at this moment, which stated, that, hemmed in on all sides, he was almost a captive in the midst of his marshals, generals, and legions, all of whom were now pressed by wants of every description, and now in vain turned their longing eyes towards France ; so that nothing but peace or an early retreat could possibly save them from destruction. Napoleon had hoped that overtures would have been made by the Russian cabinet ; and for that purpose he had used every art which he knew so well how to practice, in order to gain over some of the Russian ministry to persuade Alexander of the necessity of such a measure. He waited so long for this, however, that, all supplies being now cut off, the little that was found in the city expended, and no means of collecting more by forward movements being in his power, the patience of his troops was exhausted, their idolatrous admiration considerably cooled, even their vanity hurt ; and at length mutiny, and pillage even from each other, became the order of the day ; nay, the troops in the camp actually

ally entered the city, and openly plundered the public magazines of the army, whilst others, in despair, pushed off in marauding parties in the environs, where they fell victims either to an outraged people, or were made prisoners by the surrounding army.

Thus hemmed in, and threatened with almost instant destruction, Napoleon was at length compelled to send General Lauriston, in hopes of opening a communication with Kutusoff; but that general simply told him, that though he agreed that peace was a great and necessary blessing, yet his master, and indeed his fellow-countrymen, had determined never to listen to the word as long as a foreign soldier was in their country.

The difficulties of the French army still increasing, Napoleon sent Lauriston a second time to Kutusoff's head-quarters, but with no better success than before, though he even went so far as to request leave to send a letter to the Emperor Alexander. Finding, therefore, every attempt at negotiation ineffectual, Napoleon began immediately to concert measures for a retreat, which was the signal for all his future misfortunes.

On the 23d of October, therefore, having mined the Kremlin, he ordered it to be blown up at two o'clock in the morning by Mortier. This explosion no sooner took place in the Kremlin, than the Russian general Ilovieskoy rushed out of that part of the city which he then occupied, forced the gates, and took the garrison prisoners, even with the firebrands in their hands.

The intelligence of the evacuation of Moscow had now reached Kutusoff, whose intentions seem to have been turned not to the driving the invader out of the country, but to the surrounding him, and making him a prisoner in his own toils; a circumstance of which Napoleon was rather suspicious, as he well knew that Kutusoff had given orders to his various corps to push forward, and to inclose him on all sides, whilst at the same time he had received the disheartening intelligence of the various defeats of his own detached corps in various quarters by Doctoroff, Tchitchagoff, &c. &c. so that one general spirit of flight seemed thus to pervade all the corps of the invading army.

Napoleon's object seemed now to be the securing of a retreat to Poland, where he hoped to remain unmolested until

until the spring. But to execute this, required all his art and vigilance; his first object was to deceive the Russians by sending all his baggage and plunder on the Smolensko road, together with his sick and wounded, whilst he himself with his serviceable troops should push on to Minsk, where extensive depôts had for some time been formed, and where he expected to be reinforced by Victor, and what remained of St. Cyr's division. He at the same time attempted to deceive Kutusoff with regard to his intentions, as if he meant to force his way through the Russian army, to get possession of Kalouga, and there to winter in the most fertile provinces of the Russian empire. For this purpose he detached Murat upon that route with orders to keep up a protracted warfare, but evidently intending to sacrifice that division of the army, whilst the other should secure its retreat. For all this, however, Kutusoff was prepared; he therefore ordered General Benningsen to set off with a sufficient force to engage Murat, a measure which was followed by the total defeat of that general, at Malo Yarraslovitz.

The intelligence of this event was like a thunder-clap to Napoleon, who saw that not a moment was now to be lost in ulterior proceedings, his attempt to deceive Kutusoff having recoiled upon himself. In fact, that division, which he intended to cover his retreat, could no longer be serviceable to him; the whole Russian army was now in motion, and he had no route left but over that waste of desolation which his own troops, *and the Russians*, had prepared for his retrograde movements.

Napoleon began his retreat on the 23d of October, with his own division of the army: and as Smolensko was the nearest spot to which he could direct his route with any hopes of escape, his army was now ordered to advance in that direction; but to drag on their weak and exhausted frames was almost impossible, as even in this early stage of their movements they were actually feeding upon the cavalry horses, which were dying daily in hundreds, already feeling the influence of that hyperborean winter which was now setting in.

Napoleon seems at this period to have made preparations for his own personal escape from dangers which now he did not only foresee, but whose pressure he actually felt; for, like his meanest soldier, he was obliged to bivouack

bivouack upon the snow, with no other covering but the tempestuous and wintry heavens. Indeed, his situation must have been dreadful if he had any feelings of conscience to add to those of his body, when, during those horrible nights of the extremest cold, his famished followers attempted to light fires, and huddled round the half-kindled billets in order to participate both of artificial and of vital heat, but that in such a small proportion that hundreds died in the few short hours of rest, leaving on many spots nothing but ghastly circles of death at the morning's dawn. He was, indeed, now *compelled* to share in those miseries; as it is confidently asserted, that, on one occasion in particular, his shivering troops actually obliged him to pull off the warm mantle in which he was wrapped, on horseback—a situation, too, which he was forced to assume from their unwillingness that he should ride in a close carriage, defended from those inclemencies under which his troops were sinking even close to his side.

To follow Napoleon, and the various divisions of his army, step by step, throughout the whole of their manifold sufferings, would fill a volume; we must, therefore, proceed shortly to state that, early in November, Beauharnois, with his division, was driven upon Smolensko, after several severe actions, particularly on the 7th and 8th of the month, at the passing of the Vop, where he was obliged to leave the greatest part of his artillery behind him.

Great blame has been imputed to Napoleon, for leaving Moscow with such a numerous train of artillery as he attempted to bring along with him; indeed, it cannot be doubted, that the delay occasioned by this circumstance, was one great cause of the final destruction of his army, by their pursuers and the weather.

Through various sufferings, this once boasting army pushed on, and on the 9th of November Napoleon himself arrived at Smolensko, where he fixed his head-quarters; but in such haste had he prosecuted his journey, that he was totally ignorant not only of the fate of several divisions of his army, but even of the movements and positions of the pursuing Russians.

On his arrival at Smolensko he could not muster more than 60,000, out of 100,000, of which his troops consisted

sisted at leaving Moscow; and even of these a great portion were still in danger, particularly Ney's division, of 15,000, who formed his rear-guard, about a day's march from head-quarters. From Smolensko, however, he soon found it necessary to retire, giving directions to Davoust to remain with his division, and to destroy the place previous to his leaving it, which was to be done as soon as the other divisions had set off for Krasnoy; towards which place Napoleon himself marched, at the head of his Imperial guards, on the 13th of November, thinking that he was safest with those, as they were the only part of his troops who seemed now to possess any sort of fidelity towards his person, or who indeed preserved any symptoms of subordination.

The villages in the vicinity of Krasnoy were, at this moment, occupied by General Miloradovitch; whilst the grand Russian army, under Kutusoff, was now moving on with the greatest celerity, in hopes of overtaking Napoleon and his troops, even before they could leave Smolensko; movements which they were executing with comparative facility, being well clothed, and, moreover, accustomed to the climate and to the rigours of the season. Indeed, so rapid was their advance, that Napoleon had scarcely arrived at Krasnoy, before he understood that they were close at hand. It was necessary, however, that he should wait for Davoust; and therefore he made as good a disposition of his army as the ground, and the state of his troops, would permit him to do, but at the same time took particular care to secure his own retreat, in case of necessity, by making dispositions for that purpose in securing some important positions on the village of Dobroe, and on the road to Orcha.

By the 17th Davoust's corps was well advanced to join Napoleon; but his situation was critical, as Miloradovitch had posted his troops so as to permit him to pass the Russian line, and then to attack him on his flanks and rear, which was put in execution with great judgment, about one mile and a half from Krasnoy, where the Russian army appeared, in force, not only to the great astonishment of Davoust, but of Napoleon himself. The corps of the former was soon thrown into confusion, when Miloradovitch instantly rushed forward at the point of the bayonet and sabre, and the whole of Davoust's division fled towards

the head-quarters of Napoleon, who was then in the midst of his guards, but no sooner discerned the fate of the day—indeed he did not even wait for that—than he set off at full gallop with his whole suite.

Thus did he abandon a division of his army to which he had hitherto affixed so much consequence, and leave to the fury of an incensed enemy a Field-Marshal whom he had always affected to regard with peculiar esteem. The complete destruction of the whole corps of Davoust succeeded to the acclaim of victory from the Russian lines. The cries of his deserted and dying soldiers must have followed the flying steps of Napoleon as he vanished from the field. He was deaf to the appeal, and was seen no more. The wretched creatures, who escaped the swords of their conquerors, sought shelter in the neighbouring woods which skirt the Dnieper for an extent of five wersts. There these desolate beings, wounded, starving, and naked, laid them down under the frozen thickets, and soon forgot the desertion of their leader, and their own miseries, in the sleep of death.

The rapidity of Napoleon's flight enabled him to reach Orcha before his pursuers could come up; here he staid until the 20th, whilst some other divisions of his army were concentrating upon his line of retreat. His military operations may now be considered as at an end, with the exception of his passage of the Beresyna, on whose banks he arrived with his army in two separate bodies: here he found the bridges were all broken down; and, whilst he was endeavouring to construct a temporary one, the Russian army was advancing in great force. Wittgenstein, who commanded, now ordered Platoff to push forward towards Bernsoff, whilst he himself, on the 26th, advanced towards Vesselovo and Stondentze, where Napoleon was erecting his two bridges, at one of which places he hoped to catch him. The latter place was first attacked and carried, and the whole of the French troops in that quarter taken prisoners; but, it being soon ascertained that Napoleon was not there, Platoff was sent across the river to join Tchitchagoff, whilst Wittgenstein proceeded towards Vesselovo. Napoleon, however, soon appreciated the danger of his situation; and, the moment that his bridge in this quarter was passable, he ordered over a sufficient number of his guards to insure his safety, and then

then passing over with his principal officers, was followed by a promiscuous crowd of soldiers, who rushed on in such numbers, that, scarcely had he passed the bridge, when the passage of it was so completely choaked up as to preclude all order; so that the Russians came upon them almost by surprise, when thousands plunged into the river, and the whole scene became one of the most tumultuous horror. Napoleon, in order the better to insure his own escape, and regardless of the safety of his troops, now ordered the bridge to be fired; by which means thousands of his men fell a sacrifice to this cruel policy, being made prisoners by the Russians, who also got possession of the greater part of his baggage and artillery. In short, for half a square mile, the carriages of all descriptions were so closely locked, that neither horse nor man could find their way between them. Several standards and eagles were taken; but not so many as had been expected, as Napoleon had given orders to all the standard and eagle-bearers to take them from their staves in case of flight, and to carry them off in their pockets, or in such way as was most convenient. Five thousand men were killed in the course of the day; the same number drowned; and upwards of 13,000 taken prisoners.

Napoleon still continued his flight without any regard to his unhappy followers; and on the 4th of December he arrived at Smorgonie, when, judging the period to be favourable to his own personal escape, he appointed Murat his Lieutenant-General, and then adopting the disguise of a servant, and accompanied by Caulincourt, he entered a sledge, in which he was drawn across the snows to Wilna, where he arrived on the 7th; but he staid not a moment at this place, but pushed on with great rapidity to Warsaw, where he arrived on the 10th of December. From Warsaw he speedily set off for Dresden; and then travelling rapidly by the way of Leipsic and Mentz, arrived at Paris on the 18th of December, which city he entered at midnight.

Thus terminated, by a most disgraceful flight, an expedition which at its commencement filled the world with awe, and which threatened with extinction the only power capable of forming a barrier to the insatiable ambition of Napoleon. Scarcely any portion of history can

furnish an example of so disastrous a termination to a war which at first was planned by a depth of contrivance and a sublimity of genius which seemed to insure success. Besides the immense force which the French empire had furnished towards this expedition, Napoleon had availed himself of nearly all the physical resources of Europe; and all his allies were constrained to furnish him with immense contingents towards this war: so that the force employed in this unprincipled invasion amounted, by almost every computation that has been made, to upwards of 480,000 men, well equipped and furnished with supplies of all kinds. The ruin of this great enterprise was the forerunner of the downfall of Napoleon himself; for the victorious Russians, profiting by the advantages they had obtained, lost no time in advancing and penetrating into the heart of Germany, where the spirit of freedom and independence which had been long smothered, but not extinguished, was again roused into action.

In the mean time, Napoleon having arrived at Paris on the 18th of December, concealed his arrival till the 20th, when it was announced by discharges of artillery. His address to the Senate on the 20th, and the answer of that Body, carefully abstained from noticing the recent disasters of his army; and, as if he was in the full plenitude of his power, he made use of the following remarkable expression:—"The war which I maintain against Russia is a war of policy; I have waged it without animosity; I could have wished to have spared her the misfortunes which she has caused herself. I might have armed the greatest part of her population against her, by proclaiming liberty to her slaves; a great number of villages demanding this of me. But when I saw the barbarism of that numerous portion of the Russian people, I refused to accede to a measure which would have devoted many families to death, and the most horrid punishments. My army has sustained losses, but they arose from the premature severity of the season." Alluding to England, he intimated that he was willing now to treat with her, and to give her the same terms as he had offered previous to his great disasters; and, in order to compel her to make peace, and to recruit his own armies, he demanded a conscription of 350,000 men, adding,

"that

“ that there is no repose for Europe, until England shall have been forced into a separate peace.”

Affairs were now hastening fast to a crisis; for all Germany was now in motion, prompted by the proclamations of the Emperor Alexander. Saxony had already expressed her wishes for neutrality; all Prussia was up in arms, and her troops, under the conduct of D'Yorck, which had gone over to the allies, now supported by his sovereign's confidence, were acting with Wittgenstein in Germany. Russia had obtained all those means of supply which Napoleon's commissariat had collected in Poland: Hamburgh and the Hanse Towns were in a state of insurrection: even Denmark, her population at least, was not unfriendly. The Crown-Prince of Sweden was daily expected in Pomerania, where he was to oppose the French legions; the German states were wavering; and Austria, in arms, was ready to adopt a decided part, which Napoleon well knew would not be in his favour; so that nothing remained for him but immediate action and the most strenuous exertions.

On the 15th of April, therefore, he left Paris, having previously issued letters patent, by which Maria Louisa was constituted Empress Regent of France, with authority to exercise all the functions of state, both legislative and political; and on the 16th he passed through Metz, proceeding on rapidly for Mentz, on the banks of the Rhine.

He remained in that city from the 17th to the 25th of April; during which interval he employed himself in the review of such of his forces as were in the neighbourhood, in hastening forwards the troops as they arrived, and in establishing depôts, hospitals, and the means of transport and communication.

Nothing shews the activity of Napoleon to a greater advantage, and the immense resources of his mind, than his collecting, after so disastrous and ruinous a campaign, so great an army as he had now assembled, which he again denominated the Grand Army, and which consisted of twelve corps, and the Imperial guards, containing thirty-six battalions*.

The

* The military body termed a *corps* may be defined to be a subordinate army acting in union; and is at once an army in itself, and a member

The corps of the army, assembled on the Saale, were commanded as follows:—The 1st corps by Marshal Davoust, Prince of Eckmühl; 2d, by Marshal Victor, Duke of Belluno; 3d, by Marshal Ney, Prince of Moskwa; 4th, by General Count Bertrand; 5th, by General Count Lauriston; 6th, by Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa; 7th, by General Count Regnier; 8th, by Marshal Junot, Duke of Abrantes; 9th, by General Count Sebastiani; 10th, by Marshal Augereau, Duke of Castiglione; 11th, by Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum; 12th, by Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio; Imperial Guards, Marshal Bessieres, Duke of Istria.

The allied armies consisted of the Prussian, Russian, and Swedish armies. The Prussian army, of two corps; the one under General Blücher, and the other under General Yorck: they composed together about 46,000 men. The Russian army, of five principal divisions; of which those of Wittgenstein and Winzingerode were in advance; the Emperor Alexander and the Imperial guards at a short interval in their rear; Barclay de Tolly was coming up with a reserve; and Sacken opposed the Polish troops in the vicinity of Cracow.

The position of the main allied force was on the left of the Saale, immediately opposite to the French, then assembling on the right bank. Wittgenstein and Winzingerode had their head-quarters at Leipsic, whilst the Imperial guards and the Emperor were in the neighbourhood of Dresden.

On the part of Napoleon, his first operation was necessarily to force the Saale; and then, having cleared the country between that and the Elbe, to repossess himself of Dresden, and raise the sieges of the towns and forts upon that river.

On the side of the allies, the plan was defensive; merely to defend their advance, and to avail themselves of all strong positions, in order to throw themselves

member of another army; and composed of three species of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. It is commanded by a Marshal, and has the ordinary staff attached to a commander of the forces. The establishment is about 26,000 men; and that of a division from 8 to 10,000: so that the total effective of the French army (supposing the battalions to be at the establishment) could not have been less than 360,000.

across

across Napoleon's line of advance, as they would thus effectually stop him; or at least, by fighting him to a perpetual advantage, to inflict that repeated loss upon him as would gradually wear down his numerical superiority. This plan of the Russian campaign was proposed by Barclay de Tolli, and it was well considered and prudent.

Napoleon, in the evening of the 24th of April, quitted Mentz, and put himself upon the road for the armies on the Saale. He travelled with his usual rapidity, passed all his advanced parties, and hastened them forwards; and on the 27th he was at the head of his armies at Naumburg, on that river.

Napoleon had no sooner reached this point, than he saw that a battle was inevitable, and that it was the purpose of the allies to give it on the strong ground behind the Saale. As his own position was on the left bank of the Saale, and the position of the allies on the opposite or right bank, so he had anticipated some opposition in the passage of the river; but the Russians disappointed him, for, with the exception of a desultory attack by a party of Cossacks under General Chernicheff, they suffered the French to pass the Saale without opposition, and retreated before them to the Elster, a river between the Saale and the Elbe. Napoleon's whole army accordingly passed the Saale on the 28th of April and the following day, and established themselves in a good position on the right bank.

On the 29th of April, Ney formed the advance with a corps of 60,000 men; and Souham, with one division of this corps, about 15,000, formed the advance of Ney, who this day marched for Weissenfels, a considerable town on the road from Naumburg to Dresden. Souham then moved in advance, and, when approaching the town, found himself in the presence of Lanskoi and a Russian division. A brisk conflict commenced, but no further worthy of remark, except that Souham's infantry, by forming themselves into squares, seem to have resisted a strong charge of cavalry.

The French and allied armies now assumed the same relative positions on the Elster which they had held on the Saale, Napoleon's army being assembled on the left bank, and the allies concentrated on the right; so that it

was evident that a battle was at hand, and would attend the passage of the Elster: Buonaparte, therefore, called in his corps, and General Wittgenstein hastened up the Russian and Prussian divisions.

Weissenfels is situated in a plain, which extends to the Elster, and thence to the Elbe; and about thirty miles to the north-east, but on the other side of the Elster, is Leipsic, which being thus situated at the end of a line inclined inwards towards the Elbe, was at once on the flank and rear of the allies on the Elster. Napoleon, on the 1st of May, immediately saw the advantage of seizing this position; and, accordingly, at nine o'clock in the morning of this day, put himself at the head of his forces, and began to move upon this line. The high road to Dresden, upon which he had been marching, was from west to east; his present march was obliquely to the north-east; in the course of which, about eleven o'clock, his army came in front of a defile, which ascended a height. A Prussian division of cavalry was here formed in line to oppose them. Buonaparte now drew up Souham's division in four squares, each square of four battalions, and of course a battalion on each of its sides. Each square was posted a thousand yards apart, and supported by four pieces of cannon. They were protected by brigades of cavalry marching behind them. The divisions of Gerard and Marchant (the two other divisions of Ney's corps, each corps having three divisions) were disposed in a similar manner; and the whole was protected by cavalry on the flanks, &c. No cavalry could venture an attack under these circumstances; and, accordingly, the Prussians were broken and dispersed, and the French obtained the defile and the heights; but, notwithstanding all Napoleon's boasting, this advantage was not obtained without a considerable loss of killed and wounded on his part, including Bessieres, commander of the Imperial guard.

The head-quarters of Napoleon were now advanced to Lutzen, on the road to Leipsic; but the Prussian cavalry, which had been repelled from the height, still re-assembled in front, and seemed to dispute the advance on that city.

The allied sovereigns deemed it prudent not to attempt the defence of the line of the Saale, where the bridges
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and fords were so numerous, but to give battle upon the strong ground between that river and the Elbe. Wittgenstein, therefore, acted under these purposes, when, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th, he allowed the passage of the French corps; but when Napoleon, on the 2d of May, had assembled so great a force around Weissenfels, Wittgenstein deemed it necessary to make a reconnoissance, and with this purpose advanced General Winzingerode with a strong body of cavalry on the road between the French and Leipsic.

The result of this reconnoissance was the certain knowledge that the French were advancing on Leipsic; and it was equally evident that this movement had a double purpose; first, to turn the Elster, and elude the necessity of forcing it; and, secondly, by means of its oblique course, to come on the rear of the allies.

Wittgenstein now, with a very skilful promptitude, abandoned his purpose of fighting behind the Elster, and adopted in the instant a plan more suited to circumstances; for he resolved to cross the Elster at a point about 15 English miles to the south of the French, and thus to come upon their rear, whilst they were marching to Leipsic, in order to obtain the same advantage over him. He, accordingly, ordered Winzingerode to remain with his cavalry in order to amuse and deceive Napoleon; and employed himself, during the night of the 1st of May, in preparing for the passage of the Elster on day-light of the following day.

The positions of the French, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 2d of May, were as follows:—The left of the army, consisting of the 5th and 11th corps, under the Viceroy, leaned upon the Elster; the centre, under the command of Marshal Ney, was in the village of Great Gorschen; Napoleon, with the young and old guard, was at Lutzen; and Marmont, commanding the right, at the defile of Poserna.

Napoleon now put himself at the head of his forces; and his first operation was to dispatch Lauriston, whose corps formed the extreme of the left, to Leipsic. After a short interval, the report of a sharp cannonade from that quarter informed Napoleon that Lauriston was engaged, and he immediately proceeded to him at full gallop. Upon reaching the scene, he found that a division of the

allies were defending the small village of Lestenau, and the bridges in advance of Leipsic. The presence of Napoleon, and the value of the position, now increased the efforts of Lauriston.

Whilst Napoleon was thus personally engaged, he received intelligence, that Wittgenstein and Tormasow, having joined in the night, had crossed the Elster at day-break at Pegau and Zeitz; that they were marching up to take his army in rear, or at least to break through some part of his extensive line; and that the actual line of their march seemed to be directed towards the centre at Great Gorschen, under Ney. Napoleon deemed it necessary to give immediate attention to this information; and accordingly left Lauriston to continue the operation at Leipsic, and hastened in person to the aid of Ney; at the same time ordering up Eugene, commanding him to fall in, as fast as he could bring up his divisions, upon the right of Marshal Ney; but these divisions were so distant and scattered, that it was a work of some hours, and encouraged the operation of Wittgenstein, giving him the hopes of breaking the French centre before it could be assisted by the right or left.

General Wittgenstein continued his march, and came in front of Ney: but he found the enemy placed in a stronger situation than he had anticipated; being posted behind a ridge, and in a string of villages, of which Great Gorschen is the principal, having a hollow way in front, and a stream sufficient to float timber on the left. It was apparent, moreover, that they had an immense quantity of ordnance of 12-pounders distributed throughout the line and in the villages, and that the batteries in the open country were supported by masses of infantry in solid squares. After a very brief reconnoissance, it was resolved upon to attack the village of Great Gorschen with artillery and infantry, to endeavour to pierce the line to the enemy's right on a village by a strong column of cavalry, in order to cut off the troops in the villages from support, and to engage the remainder of the line according to circumstances by the corps opposite to it.

The battle, accordingly, immediately commenced upon this plan, with the attack of the village of Great Gorschen, when the assault was made by the corps of Generals

rals Blucher and Yorck, and was maintained by Marshal Ney, who was not as yet joined by the Viceroy. This battle, we are assured, could not be exceeded in obstinacy by any during the late campaign. The Prussian corps made and supported their movements with great gallantry; but the showers of grape-shot and musquetry, to which they were exposed on reaching the hollow way, made it impracticable for them to penetrate.

The Prussian cavalry made many successive efforts with the most distinguished gallantry. In the greater part of these attacks they failed by reason of the number and weight of the field-pieces opposed to them; but in some of them they broke into the squares, and cut the enemy down at their guns.

The battle continued in this manner till near sunset; at which time it was perfectly equal between the parties.

Such was the state of the battle about seven o'clock in the evening; when the arrival of Eugene with the left, and of Buonaparte with the reserve and guards, at length regained the field, and changed the fortune of the day. The centre, indeed, was giving way at the very moment Napoleon arrived; "some battalions," says the bulletin, "fled, but, at the sight of the Emperor, rallied. His Majesty saw that not a moment was to be lost. He saw that the critical moment had arrived, which decides the losing or gaining battles."

He now ordered Macdonald, with sixteen battalions of fresh troops, to attack the allies in front of Gorschen, and in the same moment ordered General Drouet to form a battery of 80 pieces, and place it in advance of the old guard, formed in four squares in the manner of redoubts. The whole cavalry of the army was at the same time ranged in battle behind. In this order he advanced against the allies; and the result was, that they were repelled from all the advantages they had gained.

Thus ended a contest with as singular features, and preceded by as extraordinary circumstances, as any which has occurred in modern warfare. From ten in the morning till sun-set it was doubtful, and equal; and the main point of the conflict alternately taken and retaken. The arrival of the French left and reserve decided it in their favour. But even here the extraordi-

nary circumstances of the battle did not end: for, at the conclusion of the day, and on the following morning, the conquered were in possession of the field of battle; and were compelled to retreat, not so much from the effects of their defeat, as to elude the effects of a skilful operation of the enemy during the actual time of the battle. This movement was the occupation of Leipsic by Count Lauriston.

The losses which Napoleon suffered in those battles were very great; and his means of recruiting were so much diminished, that he had been obliged to draw a great number of veterans from his armies in Spain in order to organize and discipline his new-raised levies.

On the 3d of May, Napoleon attempted some movements in advance; but these were repulsed by cannonading. On the 6th a trifling affair took place at Ersdorf, some others on the 7th, and on the 8th Beauharnois entered Dresden, whilst Lauriston possessed himself of Meissen; and in the afternoon of the same day Napoleon himself had his head-quarters at the Saxon capital. The allies, however, had previously destroyed the bridges, so that the French army were not immediately able to pass the Elbe; over which, however, Napoleon ordered a bridge to be thrown, close to the village of Prielentz.

The occupation of Dresden gave Napoleon the advantage of the co-operation of the Saxon troops, with the King at their head. That monarch and Napoleon met on the morning of the 12th, and, after embracing, entered Dresden together at the head of the Imperial guard; when the first act of the King was to place 12,000 troops under Regnier at Torgau, and to order the whole of the Saxon cavalry to assemble at Dresden on the following day, for Napoleon's service.

The allied army had now retired across the Elbe, and had taken up a formidable position, where their whole front was covered for several miles by the river Spree. In this position they coolly awaited Napoleon's advance, but took every precaution which prudence could dictate; for, although their first line rested its left on the heights overhanging the Spree, with the centre behind Bautzen, and the right in the village of Niemschutz; yet, notwithstanding

standing the natural and improved strength of this position, another line was marked out, and strengthened with field-works at some distance in the rear, near to Hochkirchen.

Napoleon, in person, joined his principal army before Bautzen on the morning of the 19th of May, and spent all that day in reconnoitring. His force now consisted of four corps of 80,000 men, of 12,000 guards, 14,000 cavalry, and a very numerous artillery. He kept the guards in reserve, sent Bertrand to threaten the allied right, and ordered the corps, about thirty miles distant, under Ney, to turn the allies, whilst he should attack in front. On the 20th, at noon, Napoleon attacked the combined army in its position at Bautzen; but his efforts, although they were directed against single points, with a great superiority of force, were of no effect; and the allies remained in their position during the night from the 20th to the 21st. On that day, at four A.M. the battle commenced on the allied left wing with great spirit. General Miloradovitch, under whom General Emanuel commanded the light troops, had the command of the left wing, under the Duke of Wurtemberg. Soon after, the battle spread with great impetuosity towards the centre, where the artillery in particular had great effect, and all Napoleon's attacks were repulsed. Lauriston's corps now appeared, and endeavoured to turn the allied right wing, but was detained by General Barclay de Tolli, who was posted at Gottamilde to observe the enemy, till General Kleist's corps, and Klux and Roeder's brigades, fell on the rear, and by a close cartridge fire caused great destruction, and forced him to retreat. But, by detaching these brigades, General Blucher's position at the heights of Kreckwitz was weakened, and the moment was seized by Napoleon to attack this corps with great superiority, before it could receive any support. General Blucher, therefore, found himself obliged to fall back upon a position a small distance in his rear, in order to join General D'Yorck, who formed his reserve. Meanwhile, to counteract this disadvantage, the allied left wing moved considerably forward, and took some cannon and prisoners. The intended purpose was thereby attained, and the enemy was deterred from pressing any further on the right wing. Night at length put an end to

to this battle, which had lasted two days, and cost Napoleon so much blood. The allied army took up a position in the greatest order, and ready for battle, near Weissenberg, at a small distance from the field of battle. They lost neither artillery nor prisoners, except a few who were severely wounded. On the other hand, they took both artillery and prisoners from the enemy, and many of his cannon were dismounted.*

It is unnecessary to enter into the subsequent affair of the 22d of May, at Kutzenbach, which has been already noticed in our Memoirs of the Emperor Alexander. Though both parties claimed the advantage, at length a suspension of arms was agreed upon on the 1st of June, which was to last until the 20th of July, to give time for negotiations for peace.

* The following account of the death of Duroc is extracted from one of Napoleon's bulletins.

"At seven o'clock in the evening of the day of the 22d, the Great Marshal Duke de Frioul, being on a small eminence, along with the Duke de Treviso and General Kirgener, all three with their feet on the ground, and at a sufficient distance from the fire, one of the last balls fired by the enemy struck down close to the Duke of Treviso, tore the lower part of the Great Marshal, and killed General Kirgener on the spot.

"The Duke of Frioul immediately felt that he was mortally wounded, and expired twelve hours after. As soon as the posts were placed, and that the army had taken its bivouacks, the Emperor went to see the Duke of Frioul. He found him perfectly master of himself, and shewing the greatest *sang froid*. The Duke offered his hand to the Emperor, who pressed it to his lips. 'My whole life,' said he to him, 'has been consecrated to your service; nor do I regret its loss, but for the use it might have been to you!' 'Duroc!' cried the Emperor, 'there is a life to come, it is there you are going to wait for me, and where we shall one day meet again!' 'Yes, Sire! but that will not be these thirty years, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived an honest man—I have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave a daughter behind me—your Majesty will fulfil the place of a father to her.' The Emperor, grasping the right hand of the great Marshal, remained for a quarter of an hour with his head reclined on his right hand, in deep silence: the great Marshal was the first who broke this silence—'Ah, Sire!' cried he, 'go away, this sight gives you pain!' The Emperor, supporting himself on the Duke of Dalmatia, and the great Master of the Horse, quitted the Duke of Frioul without being able to say any more than these words—'Farewell then, my friend!' His Majesty returned to his tent, nor would he receive any person the whole of that night."

Immediately

Immediately after the signature of the armistice, the allies removed their head-quarters to Reichenbach, about twelve miles beyond Schmednitz; in front of the former was the Commander-in-Chief, Barclay de Tolli, and in front of the latter Generals Wittgenstein and Blucher.

Napoleon proceeded to Dresden on the 10th of June, and on the same evening gave a long audience to the Danish minister, at his quarters in the suburbs. Marshal Ney was at Breslau; Mortier at Glogau; Victor at Grossen; and Oudinot upon the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, on the Berlin side.

The negotiations for peace having failed, Napoleon was resolved once more to try his fortune in the field, and to brave the whole world, rather than submit to equitable terms. Austria, judging the opportunity favourable, now declared against him, and was soon afterwards followed by Bavaria, and his other allies.

The first military operation after the armistice took place near Toplitz, in the destruction of General Vandamme's army, of which Napoleon's account stated, that, having advanced into the mountains of Bohemia in the latter end of August, he met a division of the allied army, and, not being sufficiently strong, he engaged them for a short time, but then found it necessary to descend the mountains; nay, that he would soon have overthrown his opposers, but, instead of taking proper measures, this unfortunate general, in place of retreating, and again taking post upon the heights, remained at Kulm without guarding a mountain which commanded the only causeway. It was only on the 30th of August that St. Cyr and Marmont arrived at the debouch from Toplitz. "General Vandamme only thought of closing the road against the enemy, and taking all. To a flying army, *a bridge of gold must be made, or a barrier of steel opposed*: he was not strong enough to oppose this barrier of steel."

While the main Russian army, under Barclay de Tolli, and the whole of the Austrian army, were to act offensively from Bohemia, under the chief command of Prince Schwartzemberg; Blucher was to move from Silesia on Lusatia, and threaten Napoleon in front. Blucher was to avoid engaging in any general action, especially against superior numbers. That general, accordingly, advanced

in three columns, on the 20th of August, from Leignitz, Golberg, and Jauer, on Buntzlau and Lowenberg. The French abandoned Buntzlau, destroyed their works, and blew up a magazine of powder there; and Blucher's corps advanced to the Bober, where they were attacked on the 21st, and a very serious affair took place. Napoleon commanded in person, and presented 110,000 men to General Blucher; who retired, conformably to the plan laid down.

The grand armies on the side of Bohemia commenced passing the frontiers on the 20th and 21st of August; Wittgenstein's and Kleist's columns by the passes of Peterswalde, the Austrians by Komotau. On the 22d, Wittgenstein's corps had a very considerable encounter near Bergshishabel and Zehista. The French met the allies on the frontiers, but were driven back from all their positions towards Dresden, although they endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to defend every inch of ground. The different columns of the allied armies were to debouche from the mountains and passes at such concerted periods as would probably have operated fatally upon Napoleon's army, if the arrangement, as planned, had been completely carried into effect. But the eagerness of the troops to push on and engage, brought the right corps into action on the morning of the 22d. The French were commanded by Gouvion St. Cyr, and their force consisted of upwards of 15,000 men; they were supported by the troops from Konigstein, and by those in the camp at Liebenstein, amounting to at least 6000 men, under Bonnet. After a very sharp action, Wittgenstein drove them from all points, took three or four hundred prisoners, besides a vast number killed and wounded. The loss of the allies was not severe. Napoleon, after this action, retired into Konigstein, his entrenched camp at Liebenstein, and also into the various works he had thrown up around Dresden. The allies pressed forwards on him on every side, and the grand armies were seen encircling Dresden. On the 26th the advanced guard of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, encamped on the heights above Dresden, between Nauslitz and Ischernitz.

On the 27th, in the morning, Napoleon abandoned all the ground in advance of Dresden, and withdrew into the suburbs and their different works. The allies were therefore

fore determined to attack him, and endeavour to carry the place, the possession of which was of great importance to them. Napoleon had greatly improved by art the defences around the town, so that it was evidently an enterprise of considerable difficulty to carry it. The troops moved to the assault at four o'clock in the afternoon. A tremendous cannonade commenced the operation: the batteries being planted in a circular form round the town, the effect was magnificent; the fine buildings in Dresden were soon enveloped in smoke; and the troops moved forward, in the most perfect order, to the assault. They approached on all sides close to the town. The Austrians took an advanced redoubt, with eight guns, in the most undaunted and gallant manner. The work was of the strongest kind, not above sixty yards from the main wall, and it was flanked by cross fires of musquetry from the various loop-holes that were made in every part from projecting buildings; but nothing could surpass the gallantry with which it was stormed. The French fled from it only to shelter themselves behind new defences, manning the thick walls of the town, in which it was impossible, without a long and continued fire of heavy artillery, to make breaches.

Napoleon, with the aid of those means which a strong town affords of resistance, held the allied troops in check who had so gallantly carried and entered the outworks. The night was fast approaching; and he now determined to make a sortie with a considerable number of his guards, at least amounting to 30,000, to endeavour to separate the allied troops, and take one wing in flank and rear. This was immediately perceived by the allies; and as it appeared evident that it was not practicable to carry the place that night, orders were sent to draw off the troops, and they returned to their several encampments.

The sortie was a prelude to a more general engagement, which took place on the following morning, the 28th of August. Napoleon, having at least 130,000 men in Dresden, determined to attack the allies, who occupied a very extended position on the heights surrounding his position. He had great advantages in his disposition for attack: Dresden, lined with guns, was in his rear; his communications were not intersected; if he made an impression, he could pursue it; if he failed, he could withdraw with security, and the allies could not follow

him under the guns of the place. One of the worst days that ever was seen, added materially to the difficulties of the allies, who arrived, by rapid marches, through bad roads and defiles, at their positions, and whose supplies of every kind it was difficult, if not impossible, to get up. Availing himself of the advantages above stated, Napoleon displayed an immense artillery; and a heavy cannonade on both sides formed the chief feature of the battle. Charges in various points were made, both with the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian cavalry; but the main bodies of the infantry, in both armies, did not come in contact. The weather was so hazy, and the rain so incessant, that the action was sustained at all points under the heaviest disadvantages. It was at this period that the gallant Moreau fell, being struck by a cannon-ball whilst in earnest conversation with the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon continued his efforts on the position of the allies, till finding he could make no impression upon them, the action ceased.

Napoleon, who still had his forces admirably concentrated, now made a movement into Bohemia; but, finding the Austro-Russian army to be much stronger than he expected, and in an excellent position for sustaining an attack, he suddenly hastened back to the Elbe, to arrest the progress of General Blucher, who was advancing to Dresden. Profiting of this retrograde movement of the French chief, the grand army of the allies again broke up from Bohemia on the evening of the 4th of September, and on the 5th made a movement in advance to Dresden. General Blucher then fell back to the Silesian frontier, and Napoleon returned to meet the Austro-Russian army, which on his approach again fell back, and General Blucher at the same time advanced. Thus was some time expended in a succession of marches and counter-marches; and, as the movements of the French were necessarily, from their concentration, confined to narrow limits, great scarcity of provision and sickness began to be felt throughout that army.

Napoleon, sensible of the precarious situation of his affairs and the necessity of making a grand attack on one of the corps of the allies while they remained separated, collected all the troops which could be spared from other quarters, and, by menacing the communication of the allies

allies with Prague, expected to force them to fall back behind the Elbe into Bohemia.

On the 8th of September, the corps under Count Wittgenstein, and a part of General Kleist's corps under the orders of General Zeithen, which had advanced through the mountains beyond Peterswalde and Zehista, on the road towards Dresden, were attacked by a very superior force, and a very sharp affair took place.

When Napoleon began his advance, Count Wittgenstein had his head-quarters at Pirna. The chief contest during the day was for the village of Dohna, which the allies defended with great bravery; but the enemy bringing up increasing numbers, towards the evening Count Wittgenstein determined to fall back and evacuate Dohna. General Zeithen's corps, therefore, was ordered to occupy Pirna in the evening, and Count Wittgenstein's corps retired towards Peterswalde.

On the 9th Napoleon continued his advance, and the allies retired, fighting every inch of ground, in the mountains; and it now appearing that a very considerable army was advancing, either with a determination to make a general attack, or for the purpose of great demonstration, the allies began to collect all their forces at Kulm and Toplitz.

Napoleon pressed with greater force on the 10th from the mountains on Kulm, and towards Toplitz; he advanced not only with the columns that followed Count Wittgenstein's rear, but also with another very considerable corps by Zurnwalde and Kraufen. At this time the Austrian column had not come into close communication from Aussig and Leutmeritz, and the Russian and Prussian force, in front of Toplitz, was greatly outnumbered by the enemy. The allies, however, determined, in the event of the enemy advancing, to give him battle; and dispositions to that effect were accordingly made.

After a variety of movements, which seemed to indicate a general attack, Napoleon, on the 12th, finding that he could not engage the allies to advantage, commenced his retreat. On the morning of the 15th he continued to retire; and on the 16th he occupied the mountains and heights in front of Nollendorff in great force. In the evening of that day he made preparations to turn the right of the allies before Kulm, whilst at the same time

he assailed their centre and left. For this purpose, 15,000 men were detached to turn the right; 8000 advanced in front and on the left; and about 30,000 men, and 8000 cavalry, formed the reserve. On the 17th, the corps moving on the right of the allies, being concealed by an intense fog, and advancing through thick woods, had succeeded in gaining their flank before its movement was perceived.

Whilst Napoleon forced the Russian and Prussian forces from the village of Nollendorff by very superior force, but were kept in check on the left, General Jerome Colloredo, with a corps of Austrians, fell on the advanced column which had gained the right of the allies, and completely defeated it.

Napoleon, repulsed at all points, retired again into his position on the mountains, occupying, however, Nollendorff, whilst the allies took up their old ground, and extended themselves across the plain in a semicircular position.

On the 19th of September, Napoleon remained in position at Peterswalde. On the 20th he retired still further towards Dresden; and every disposition seemed to be made for a retreat on that capital. His object was evidently to avoid a general battle, except under the most favourable circumstances, and to wait till he was reinforced by the great levies which were at this period being made throughout France, by which he would be enabled to cope with a greater chance of success against the superior numbers of the enemy.

A vigorous and decisive line of action was, therefore, the only one that the allies could pursue, to obtain the grand object they professed to have in view. The concentrated situation of Napoleon gave him a decided superiority at any point which might be urgently threatened. This the allies had perceived. The Austro-Russian army had advanced, and been repeatedly obliged to retire from before Dresden; and the Silesian army, in like manner, had advanced from the other side of the Elbe only to retreat. Thus the allies, although far superior in number to the French, had not acquired any immediate or material advantage, that might be decisive of the fate of the campaign; and a concentration of their principal forces seemed the only step which would enable them to profit
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of their numbers, and prevent an indefinite duration of the war, which would render its issue extremely doubtful.

The subsequent operations of the contending armies, previous to the great battle of Leipsic, have been so often detailed in these Memoirs, particularly in the Life of Bernadotte, that it would be quite superfluous to enter again minutely into them. It is, therefore, sufficient to observe, that Napoleon, having manœuvred from Dresden, left that place on the 7th of October, and arrived at Leipsic on the 14th, closely pursued by the allied armies.

It was on the 17th of October that the great preparations were made to attack Napoleon at Leipsic. He had been already made acquainted with the defection of Bavaria, and consequently foreseeing the result of the battle, early in the morning proposed, by a flag of truce, to withdraw all his garrisons from the Oder and the Elbe, and to take up a position in the Thuringian forests, there to negotiate a general peace. The allies refused to listen to this proposition; the time appeared at hand when they might, by a grand blow, give a lasting peace to Europe, by the complete overthrow of their inveterate enemy.

As on the 17th the allies were in expectation of receiving further reinforcements, they were therefore desirous of procrastinating an attack till the following day. General Benningsen, who, with an army of 40,000 men, was left to cover Bohemia, and observe Dresden, was now, as Napoleon had left that capital defended by a force of but 16,000 men, directed to join the grand army with the principal part of his corps, leaving only behind him a small detachment before Dresden. The delay of the 17th on the part of the allies was therefore a measure of good and sound military policy; but it is impossible to regard in the same light the conduct of Napoleon, although he has observed, that "this day was necessary to allow the parks of reserve to arrive, and replace the 80,000 cannon-balls which had been expended in the previous battle." He, however, admits that he gave the allies time to re-assemble their troops, which he had scattered, "*when they delivered themselves up to their chimerical projects, and to receive the reinforcements which they expected.*"

Napoleon

Napoleon had no reinforcements to come up, and he could not have been otherwise than sensible, that every moment of delay increased the strength of the allies. This then was the moment when he should have either made a vigorous attack, or have essayed to retreat; and both might have been attempted with a greater probability of success, than when the allies should have gained additional strength. This unaccountable proceeding on the part of a general, whose early victories had elevated him to the highest honours and power, was of incalculable injury to him. His generals were sensible of his impolitic conduct; and it was contrary to his usual system and character thus to procrastinate, and afford his enemy the opportunity of choosing the time for attack.

Napoleon, however, directed some trifling changes on this day in the disposition of his army, and drew the whole closer around Leipsic. That part of his army which was at Liebert Wolkowitz, and Wachau, he made retire into the interior line of Connewitz, Probstheyda, and Stetteritz; whilst on the opposite side, the north, he withdrew his forces behind the river Partha, which afforded an advantageous line of defence. But the most important object he accomplished this day was the making an opening through the allied line along the Saale, in the direction of Weissenfels, by which he secured to himself a retreat, and cut off the communication between the two opposite armies. This was the principal object the French chief could desire in his present situation, as he had both neglected to bring his enemy to an action on this day, and to retreat.

On the following day the allies had received all their reinforcements; and they determined, by a grand and combined attack, to bring the campaign to a crisis.

The plan of the attack was as follows:—While the grand army was to commence their attack from their different points of assembling, on the principal villages situated on the great roads leading to Leipsic; the armies of the North and Silesia were jointly to attack from the line of the Saale, and upon the enemy's position along the Partha river. Marshal Blucher gave to the Prince Royal of Sweden 30,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, of his army; and, with this formidable reinforcement, the northern army was to attack from the heights
of

of Taucha, while General Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsic, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place.

In the event of the whole of the French forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other, and concert further movements; that part of Napoleon's force which for some time had been opposed to the Prince Royal of Sweden and Marshal Blucher, had taken up a very good position upon the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Taucha, and its left towards Leipsic. To force his right, and obtain possession of the heights of Taucha, was the first operation of the Prince Royal. The corps of Russians, under General Winzingerode, and the Prussians, under General Bulow, were destined for this purpose; and the Swedish army were directed to force the passage of the river at Plosen and Mockau.

General Bulow's corps, and General Winzingerode's cavalry, which formed the extreme left, proceeded upon Taucha. The Russian army, whose advanced guard was commanded by Lieutenant-General Count Woronzoff, forded the stream near Grasdorff. The Swedish army passed between that place and Plaussig. Already, on the preceding evening, General Winzingerode had caused Taucha to be occupied, and took in that place three officers, and 400 men. The French however, perceiving all the importance of that point, had dislodged the Cossacks, and occupied the village in considerable force.

General Baron Pahlen, bravely supported by a Colonel Arnoldi, of the horse-artillery, who lost a leg on this occasion, made a brilliant charge, seized the village, surrounded two Saxon battalions that were there, and made them prisoners. The cavalry then advanced, and effected a junction with the advanced guard of Count Niepperg, forming part of an Austrian division commanded by General Count Bubna, belonging to General Benningsen's army. Platoff arrived at the same time with his Cossacks, and, a few moments after, the Grand Duke Constantine, who communicated to the Prince Royal the movements of the grand army.

The French, who had abandoned the village of Paunsdorff, vigorously attacked it again with infantry and several batteries. General Bulow's corps, which just came up,

up, was directed to attack that village, and that officer carried it in the most gallant manner. The French were also driven from the villages of Sonnerfeldt and Schonfeldt, which they had occupied for the purpose of covering their retreat when they fell back from Taucha.

On the side of the grand army, the French offered the most desperate resistance. At Probstheyda, Stetteritz, and Connevitze, the contest was maintained on both sides with equal vigour; but the different columns of the allies bearing on those points, finally succeeded, and carried every thing before them. General Benningsen took the villages upon the right bank of the Reuttschloß, having been joined by General Bubna from Dresden, General Tolstoy having come up and relieved the former in the blockade of that city; and General Giulay manœuvred with 75,000 Austrians upon the left bank of the Elster, whilst the corps under General Thielman and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein moved upon the same river.

The allied forces now bearing in from all points, carried every thing before them; and a junction with the Prince Royal of Sweden's army having been formed, towards evening the united forces established themselves almost beneath the walls of Leipsic. The Prince-Royal of Sweden bivouacked at Paunsdorff, General Blücher at Wittenz, and the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia at Roda.

Towards the close of the day, Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzberg, observing that the defeat of Napoleon was complete, felt anxious to convey the tidings himself to his Sovereign, who, together with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, were stationed upon a height about two miles from the field of battle. The Field-Marshal galloped up at full speed, and saluting the Emperor with his sword, said, "Your Majesty, the battle is at an end! the enemy is beaten at all points!—they fly!—the victory is our's!" The Emperor raised his eyes to heaven, and a tear was his only answer; but his Majesty dismounting, and having deposited his hat and sword on the ground, fell on his knees, and aloud returned thanks to God. This example was followed by the other two monarchs, who having also kneeled, said, "Brother, the Lord is with you!" At the same instant, all the officers in attendance, as well as the guard, kneeled down, and
for



Prince Schwarzenberg



for several minutes a dead silence reigned; after which more than an hundred voices cried out, "The Lord is with us." The sight of three crowned heads, accompanied by a great number of distinguished warriors, kneeling under the canopy of heaven, and with tears praising the God of battles, was most affecting.

Napoleon, surrounded by a numerous and victorious enemy, with all his fortified lines captured, his troops disheartened by repeated disasters, and incredibly diminished in numbers, perceived that only an immediate and desperate retreat could save the remainder; and this he therefore put in practice. His whole army began to défile by the road leading to Weissenfels; but here obstacles in every shape presented themselves: five rivers, running parallel and close to each other, and requiring bridges over each, formed a long and narrow defile, through which it was with difficulty his army could proceed, even slowly; and at day-break only part of his troops had reached the other side.

Napoleon, however, counted upon the presence of the Saxon Electoral family, and the solicitations of the inhabitants to preserve the city, to gain time to provide for his own security; but he was disappointed. The Emperor Alexander, having received a flag of truce, in the name of the King of Saxony, offering to capitulate to save the town, his Imperial Majesty gave his answer aloud, in the hearing of many hundred officers, with remarkable force and dignity: he said, "that an army in pursuit of a flying enemy, and in the hour of victory, could not be stopped a moment by considerations of the town; that, therefore, the gates must be immediately opened, and in that case the most strict discipline should be observed; that if the German troops in the place chose to join their countrymen in his army, they should be received as brothers: but he considered any proposal sent while Napoleon was at hand, as extremely suspicious, as he well knew the enemy he had to deal with; that, as to the King of Saxony personally, who had taken a line of determined hostility, he gave no answer, and declined making any communication."

It being determined that no respite should be allowed to Napoleon, early in the morning of the 19th the allied forces moved on to the attack of the city, which was very

soon carried; the particulars of which have been narrated in our preceding Memoirs.

Napoleon fled from Leipsic at nine o'clock in the morning, leaving behind him a large part of his army; and on the allies entering the city, they were joined by all the remaining Saxon and other German troops in the pay of France. Napoleon employed, in vain, every effort to persuade the King of Saxony to accompany him in his retreat, and would not quit him till he had been twice informed that the allies had forced the gates of the city.

As the enemy was obliged to make his retreat by the defiles of Pleisse, the baggage, cannon, and troops, soon choaked up the narrow passes, and the greatest confusion prevailed. None thought but of making their own escape; numbers threw themselves into the river, and attempted to escape by swimming, but the principal part of the latter perished.

The loss of Napoleon, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 60,000. The whole rear-guard of the French army, including some of its most distinguished generals, fell into the hands of the allies.

The shattered remnants of the French army continued to retreat by forced marches, and in the greatest possible disorder, followed by the main bodies of the allies, and having large corps of troops advanced before him. The grand and important advantages of the battle of Leipsic were closely followed up by the allies; and their vigorous pursuit of the French army rendered their retreat to the Rhine not much less calamitous than that from Moscow.

Napoleon continued to experience heavy losses, both in men, artillery, and baggage, whilst he pursued his course from Leipsic to the Maine. The destruction and dispersion of his army became every day more complete. He no longer made any stand against the corps advancing upon him, but sought the safety of his army in a flight to the Rhine.

In the meanwhile the King of Bavaria, since his defection to the arms of Napoleon, shewed every disposition to repair, by great exertions, his former error in aiding the ambitious views of the French ruler. General Wrede with the Bavarian troops, by uncommon forced marches, succeeded in reaching the Maine before the
French





Prince Wrede

French army, and on the 21st of October arrived before Wurtzburg; which had been declared by General Turreau in a state of siege on the 22d. General Wrede summoned the town, and on a refusal of terms bombarded it for an hour, when a second summons was sent in; and, on a refusal, the bombardment recommenced, and continued until half-past twelve at night. On the 25th the town was again summoned, and without effect; but on the following day, the 26th, a capitulation was agreed upon, and the allies entered it at four in the evening of the same day.

After gaining possession of Wurtzburg, Wrede took up a position in advance of Hanau, by which the French army had to pass. Blucher, however, who expected that Napoleon would cross the Rhine at Coblenz, instead of by Hanau, pursued the route of the former; and thus the Bavarians were left alone to oppose the remaining French force, which was in point of numbers nearly treble their own; the Bavarian army amounting to about 30,000 men, whilst that of the French was computed at from 70 to 80,000. Nevertheless, with this inferiority of force, Wrede determined to oppose the enemy, and for two days he maintained a glorious contest. Although they suffered severely in the battle of Hanau, still the Bavarians sustained no decisive defeat. General Wrede received a severe wound, and great numbers of this little corps fell in the unequal contest.

After the battle of Hanau, Napoleon pursued his route to Frankfort, and on the 7th of November crossed the Rhine with the remains of his once great and powerful army. He soon quitted his troops, and hastened to Paris, leaving directions with his generals, that all the strong places on that river and on the frontiers should be garrisoned.

Napoleon arrived at St. Cloud on the 9th of November, and on the 11th he presided at a Council of State; and it may be curious to our readers to learn what transpired at this meeting, after the desolation and disasters that had taken place, and the impending dangers which threatened France. The proceedings have been published to the world by a member who was present, and of the truth of which there seems to be no reason to doubt.

“ Impatient to examine the countenance of the Emperor, the members of the Council were admitted into the saloon contiguous to the Hall of Council. To extricate himself from the embarrassment of a first interview, the Emperor abruptly called the Governor of the Bank, keenly censured the prudent measures which, at a critical moment, had saved that national establishment and propped the public credit: he kept talking for half an hour without giving the Governor time to defend himself, running three or four times the round of the same ideas, expressed in the same terms, employing ridiculous images, and too often terms of the most cutting contempt.

“ When he had done speaking, the members moved into the Council-chamber. The meeting opened by the reading of a financial decree to be issued by the Imperial authority, without the sanction of the Legislative Body, which nevertheless stood summoned for the 2d of December. The question was nothing less than the augmentation of the contributions by one-half. The decree passed without opposition as to the principle, and after a merely necessary discussion, in the course of which the Emperor broached various opinions, either contradictory or absurd. ‘Taxation,’ said he, among other things, ‘has no bounds. It commonly presents the idea of one-fifth; but it may be raised according to the urgency of the occasion, to one-fourth one-third, one-half, &c. No; taxation has no bounds! If there be laws that say the contrary, they are vicious laws.’

“ After this decree, was read the *projet* of a *Senatus Consulte*, for placing at the disposal of the minister of war 300,000 men, to be taken from the old conscriptions, which had been solemnly released or exhausted. The most profound silence pervaded the assembly. The flatterers being questioned, remained for some time mute. A member nevertheless ventured to say—‘Sire, the welfare of the empire!’ Another found fault with the expression, ‘*Frontiers invaded*,’ in the preamble to the *projet*, as likely to excite alarm. ‘Why?’ replied the Emperor: it is better in this case to tell the truth. Has not Wellington entered in the south, the Russians on the north? are not the Austrians and Bavarians threatening it on the east? Wellington in France!—what disgrace!—

and

and the people have not risen *en masse* to drive him out!—the English will laugh at the good-nature of our peasants. But the English have no ships there!—no naval manœuvres now! They are upon our own soil: we must beat, we must drive them away. All my allies have abandoned me! The Bavarians have betrayed me! The cowards—they threw themselves into my rear—they thought to have cut off my retreat! But how they were trounced for it! How they were slaughtered! I have killed Wrede, and all his relations with him. No! no peace till I have burned Munich! A triumvirate has been formed in the North—the same that divided Poland! No peace till it shall be broken! Let next year come, and we shall see! I demand 300,000 men; I will form a camp of 100,000 at Bourdeaux, another at Lyons, and another at Metz. With the preceding levy, and what remains, I shall have a million of men under arms; that will be enough for the present. I demand 300,000 men; but they must be men grown: of what use are those young conscripts? to fill the hospitals, or to die upon the roads! The French are always brave! the Piedmontese, the Italians, are brave too, and fight well; but as for all those men of the north, the Germans, they are good for nothing—'tis not blood that flows in their veins, but water. I cannot rely with confidence on any but the inhabitants of ancient France.' 'Sire, the Belgians,' said a member. 'Yes, the Belgians,' replied the Emperor, 'they perhaps have some affection for me. What signify all the addresses which they are induced to make?' 'Tis the height of ridicule!' 'Sire,' said another member, '*ancient France must be preserved.*' 'And Holland too,' sharply rejoined the Emperor; 'rather than abandon Holland, I would consign it to the sea. As for Italy, if it be not subject to France, it must be independent.—Gentlemen, an effort must be made. Well, every body must march. It won't come to that; but if it should—Monsieur Cambaceres, you will march too—you shall be put at the head of a legion.—Counsellors of State! you are fathers, you are the heads of the nation; it is you who ought to give the impetus: but I know you are soft—pusillanimous. They talk of peace! peace! peace! I know not what *peace* means, whilst the whole country ought to resound with the cry of war!'

“ After

“ After these words, the *projet* of the *Senatus Consulte* was adopted, and the Emperor broke up the meeting.”

Although the allies, flushed with victory, had passed the French frontiers, and were advancing on all sides to the capital of France, they yet offered terms to Napoleon. Indeed, their only object appears to have been to secure a durable and solid peace; but they were determined to have such terms as should effectually curb the daring ambition of their enemy. The conditions which they offered were therefore necessarily severe, and may be considered as the primary cause of Napoleon's ruin; for, without descending from the high ground on which he stood, and which alone gave him a lustre in the eyes of the French people, he could hardly accept the conditions which were pressed upon him. Before the great battle of Leipsic, so fatal to his arms, equitable, and even honourable terms had been offered by the allies, which he had chosen to reject. After that event, it was too late to expect the same terms; and his only alternative was, either to degrade himself by signing a peace dictated at the point of the sword, or by refusing it to hazard the extinction of his own power, and perhaps his own existence. His magnanimity on this trying occasion is undoubted; for, rather than sit on a degraded throne, he was once more determined to brave the whole world, and risk all the tremendous consequences which awaited a fresh appeal to arms.

In order that he might meet the dangers which menaced his throne, Napoleon now ordered a new conscription of 300,000 men. This immense force, however, it was impossible to raise in time to stop the march of the victorious allies: and, in order to reconcile the French people to the sacrifices they were called upon to make, he endeavoured to convince them that he was willing to make peace, and that the continuance of the war was alone to be imputed to his enemies. Napoleon having communicated to the Senate his efforts to obtain peace, that Body, on the 30th of December, addressed him as follows:—

“ SIRE—The Senate comes to offer to your Imperial Majesty the tribute of its attachment and gratitude for the last communications which it has received, by the medium of its committee; your Majesty adheres to the proposal

proposal even of your enemies, which has been transmitted by one of your ministers in Germany: what stronger pledge could you give of your sincere desire of peace?

“Your Majesty certainly believes that power is strengthened by being limited, and that the art of favouring the happiness of the people is the chief policy of kings. The Senate thanks you for it, in the name of the French people.

“It is also in the name of this same people, that we thank you for all the legitimate means of defence which your wisdom may take to insure peace.

“The enemy has invaded our territory. He designs to penetrate to the centre of our provinces. The French, united in sentiment and interest under a chief like you, will not suffer their energy to be cast down.

“Empires, like individuals, have their days of mourning and of prosperity; it is in great exigencies that great nations shew themselves.

“No: the enemy shall not tear asunder this beautiful and noble France, which, for fourteen centuries, has maintained itself with glory through such diversities of fortune; and which, for the interest of the neighbouring nations, can always throw a considerable weight into the balance of Europe. We have for pledges your heroic firmness, and the national honour. We will fight for our dear country, between the tombs of our fathers and the cradles of our infants. Sire, obtain peace by a last effort worthy of yourself and of the French; and let your hand, so often victorious, let fall your arms, after having signed the repose of the world. This, Sire, is the wish of France—the wish of the Senate—this is the wish and want of the human race.”

To this address Napoleon replied—

“I am sensible of the sentiments which you express towards me.

“You have seen, by the documents which I have caused to be laid before you, what I do for the sake of peace. I will make, without regret, the sacrifices implied by the preliminary basis, which the enemy has proposed, and which I have accepted. My whole life has but one object—the happiness of the French.

“Meantime Bearn, Alsace, Franche Comté, Brabant, are

are invaded. The cries of this part of my family rend my heart. I call the French to succour the French; I call the French of Paris, of Bretagne, of Normandy, of Champagne, and of the other departments, to the succour of their brethren. Shall we forsake them in their distress? Peace, and the deliverance of our territory, ought to be the rallying cry! At the sight of all this nation in arms, the enemy will fly, or will sign peace on the basis which he has himself proposed. The question is now no more to recover the conquests we have made."

Napoleon continued at Paris until the 25th of January; and, as the allies were rapidly advancing upon him in all directions, he left the capital on the morning of that day, having previously constituted the Empress Maria Louisa regent in his absence.

On the 1st of February, having joined his army, an obstinate battle took place at La Rothiere, which was the first that was fought on French ground, in which Napoleon sustained a decisive defeat.

The confidence of the allied sovereigns, and of the commanders of their armies, having placed at Blucher's disposal the Austrian corps of Guilay, and of the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, in addition to the forces under his own immediate command, he, after a reconnoissance, made the following dispositions for an attack.

The corps of General Sacken was ordered to move forward in two columns from Trannes, one directing itself upon Brienne, by the road of Dienville, and the second on the village of La Rothiere. The corps of General Guilay, forming the reserve of the first column, and that of General Alsufief of the second.

The Russian guards and cuirassiers, it was announced, would arrive, and form a reserve for the whole, on the heights between Trannes and Eclance.

The Prince Royal of Wurtemberg was directed to march from Eclance upon Chaumenil, leaving a small wood in front of the right of the position, occupied by the French, to his left, and thus turning it, and opening his communication with General Wrede; who, it was announced, was advancing also upon Chaumenil from Doulevant.

The attack commenced precisely at twelve o'clock.
Napoleon

Napoleon was in position at Dienville and La Rothiere, and had his left at the small village of La Gibrie. His cavalry, as well as that of the allied forces, was drawn out in the plain between the two positions; his infantry disposed in large masses on the flanks of, and within the villages, which were lined with artillery.

Skirmishing and cannonading in the plain were the preludes to the attack; but the attention was soon directed from this to a very heavy cannonading and musquetry-fire from the small wood on the right, and the village of La Gibrie. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg drove the French from the village; but they returned in force, and again expelled him. A brigade of grenadiers was ordered to his support; but his own zeal and activity rendered this aid unnecessary. He attacked again, and remained master of both the wood and village. The movements in this quarter occupied nearly three hours.

Napoleon's demonstrations now menaced the flank of the position of the allies; but Blucher was not to be diverted from his object by them. The effect of the combination of Wrede's movement was foreseen with the most accurate judgment; and, before the village of La Gibrie was in the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg's possession, every requisite order was given for the execution of the movements just directed.

Napoleon having moved a corps to his left, General Sacken drew all his force to the attack of La Rothiere, which formed the key of the French position.

Guilay attacked the town of Dienville, but met with very considerable opposition. The contest was protracted to a very late hour; and it was not until after midnight that the French were expelled, leaving 280 prisoners in Count Guilay's possession.

The most obstinate resistance, however, was made at La Rothiere: Sacken expelled the French; but they returned with heavy columns of infantry, and batteries of artillery, and renewed the attack with great vigour, gaining possession of the church and some of the houses, whilst the Russians occupied the others. Napoleon in person led on the attack, at the head of the young guards, and had a horse shot under him. The fire with which he was received, rendered the attempt of no avail; and about ten o'clock at night the whole village

was ceded to the more obstinate valour of the Russian troops.

On the right of the village, General Sacken took upwards of 20 pieces of cannon; near 1000 prisoners were also taken: the loss in killed and wounded was very great. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg advanced upon Chaumenil, and formed a junction with General Wrede. The former took six pieces of cannon, and the latter seventeen. Thus was the victory complete in every quarter.

Immediately after the battle commenced, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzberg, came on the ground. Blucher immediately afterwards proceeded to the front, to carry into effect the dispositions he had made. He was among the foremost in the attack of the village of La Rothiere, and in supporting the troops who were attacked in it. A Cossack was shot by his side. Reserves were moved forward, by the orders of his Imperial Majesty and Prince Swartzenberg, but only three battalions were employed. There were prisoners taken of the 3d, 4th, and 6th corps, and of the guards. Buonaparte was supposed to have had the great body of his army collected.

Baffled in the different attempts to regain the advantages he had lost, Napoleon at last decided upon a retreat: his columns began their movement to the rear about one in the morning. His rear-guard was, however, in occupation of the position of Brienne at daylight.

In this battle the loss of the French was very considerable in killed and wounded: that of the allies was also very great. The latter took 73 pieces of cannon, and about 4000 prisoners.

Napoleon retreated with his army in two columns; the right upon Lessmont, the left upon Laissicourt and Ronay. The cavalry of the allies harassed his covering troops, and executed several charges in the most handsome manner.

In the meanwhile Marshal Macdonald's corps, having been recalled from the Lower Rhine, hastened, by forced marches, through Liege and Namur, to join the main army. General Von D'Yorck's corps was dispatched to the northward to prevent this junction; and on the 5th

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an action took place at Chaussel, near Vitry, which terminated in favour of General Von D'Yorck, who took three pieces of cannon, and several hundred prisoners. Macdonald next retired to Chalons, pursued by General Von D'Yorck, who bombarded that town. On the following day Chalons surrendered by capitulation; in consequence of which, General Macdonald, with his corps and those of Generals Sebastiani and Arrighi, were allowed to evacuate Chalons, and to retire over the Marne, in the direction of Meaux.

The important position and town of Troyes was taken possession of by the allies on the 7th of February; the French retired from it the night preceding, and took a direction upon Nogent. The number of roads leading from the different points of France, and uniting at Troyes, the resources of the place itself, with a population of 30,000 inhabitants, rendered its occupation of the greatest importance. The Prince Royal of Wurtemberg was the first who entered the town with his corps; on the day preceding, he had turned Napoleon's position near Ruvigni, and had taken possession of the village of Lanbrissel on his left.

During these military operations, negotiations for peace were actually carried on at Chatillon-sur-Seine.

On the 11th of February, the corps of General D'Yorck and Baron Sacken marched in the direction of Montmirail, when a severe action took place. The corps of Baron Sacken, and three brigades of that of General D'Yorck, engaged; and, after an action of several hours, both armies remained on the ground in the same positions they had occupied at the commencement. Six pieces of cannon were at one time taken by General Sacken; but they were left, from the difficulty of the roads, as well as four pieces of his own, which he had advanced in the attack, and could not again withdraw. The force opposed was the old guard, and another detached corps, amounting to about 30,000 men, commanded by Napoleon in person. General Sacken attacked the enemy in the village of Marchais, which was taken and retaken three times. Napoleon made a movement on his right flank, which compelled him to fall back on General D'Yorck. Napoleon attacked again, but could make no impression, night leaving both him

and the allied troops in the same position. General Sacken had his head-quarters next day at Chateau Thierry, and General D'Yorck at Biffort.

Marshal Marmont, with the sixth corps, was now at Etoges. Blucher, with the corps of General Kleist and General Kapsiewitz, was in position at that place. Marmont sent an officer with a flag of truce, with a letter to the Field-Marshal, which he was directed to deliver personally, but he was not received.

Blucher, finding the enemy had made no movement from Etoges, determined to attack Marmont at that place. The latter shewed 9 or 10,000 men, who gradually retired, under a brisk fire, from Etoges to Champaubert, where he halted for the night.

Blucher had now to sustain another and most obstinate contest against a superior force of the enemy, under the command of Napoleon in person. After having driven Marmont from the position at Etoges on the 13th, he there learnt that Napoleon had marched, the preceding day, to Chateau Thierry: General D'Yorck and General Sacken having previously quitted that town, and retired behind the Marne.

On the 14th, Marmont was announced to be in retreat from the village of Fromontieres; and Blucher, who had bivouacked the night preceding at Champaubert, resolved on pursuing him. He had under his orders only the corps of General Kleist, and General Kapsiewitz's division of General Langeron's corps. The French retired until they came near the village of Janvilliers, where a considerable body of cavalry was observed to be collected. In the ardour of pursuit, six guns, which had been carried forward, were suddenly rushed upon and seized by them. The Prussian cavalry, under General Zieten and Colonel Blucher, son of the Field-Marshal, immediately charged, and retook them. Several prisoners fell into their hands; and from them it was learnt, that Napoleon was on the ground, having just arrived with the whole of his guards, and a large body of cavalry. They had made a forced march during the night from Chateau Thierry.

The infantry of Blucher was at this time advancing in columns of battalions on the open grounds on each side of the chaussée leading through the village.

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The cavalry, which was observed to be increasing, suddenly came forward in a large mass, broke through the cavalry of the advanced guard, divided itself, and attacked with the greatest fury the columns of infantry on the plain. The movement was observed. The columns formed into squares, which remained firm on their ground, and commenced a heavy fire from their front, flanks, and rear. In a large field, on the right of the village, six squares were attacked at the same time; all succeeded in repelling the French, the cavalry of the advanced guard in the mean time retiring in the intervals, forming in the rear, and advancing again to charge the cavalry, after it had been thrown into disorder, and compelled to retire from the destructive fire of the squares. Napoleon's numbers, however, increased; and large bodies of cavalry were seen to be moving round on either flank. Two battalions of infantry of the advanced guard, which had entered the village, could not form in time, and suffered considerably. Blucher, who had little cavalry with him, now resolved on withdrawing his force from a position where such an unequal contest must be waged.

The infantry were directed to retire in columns and squares, with artillery in the intervals, covered on the flank and rear by skirmishers and cavalry. Napoleon lost no time in making the boldest and most direct attack. The country through which the line of retreat lay, was generally open, without inclosures, but with small woods and copses, which enabled Napoleon's cavalry to conceal its movements. The infantry avoided in general entangling themselves in them, and were thus the better enabled to preserve their perfect formation, and hold the enemy in greater respect. From the village of Janvilliers to about half way between Champaubert and Etoges, a distance of nearly four leagues, it was one incessant retiring combat, not a single column or square of infantry that was not either charged by, or exposed to the fire of the enemy, while a constant fire was kept up by them without any interruption of their march, firing and loading as they moved, and still preserving the most perfect order. It frequently happened that Napoleon's cavalry were intermixed with the squares, and always, in such case, compelled to retire with great loss. Various charges

charges were attempted without any effect. At sun-set it was observed, that the corps of cavalry which had been seen to take a circuit round the flanks, had thrown themselves into the line of retreat, about half way between Champaubert and Etoges, and formed themselves into a solid mass on the chaussée and on each side of it, with the evident determination to bar the passage. At this moment Blucher found himself surrounded on every side. His decision was as prompt as the resolution determined to execute it—to continue his march, and break through the obstacle opposed to it.

The columns and squares, assailed now on every side, moved on in the most firm and perfect order. The artillery opened a heavy fire on the cavalry that had planted itself on the chaussée, which was succeeded by volleys of musquetry, from the advancing columns of infantry. Napoleon's cavalry could not stand against such determination: they were forced to quit the chaussee, and leave the passages on each side of it open, and to limit their further attacks solely to the flanks and rear. The columns and squares on the flanks and rear were equally assailed, and not a single one during the whole of the time was broken or lost its order. As night came on, the infantry attacks succeeded to those of the cavalry. As the troops were entering the village of Etoges, they were assailed by volleys of musquetry from a body of infantry that had penetrated by bye-roads on both flanks of their march. Generals Kleist and Kapsiewitz, with their respective corps, however, again broke through the obstacles opposed to them, forced their way through the village, though with considerable loss, and brought in their corps, without further attack or molestation, to the position of Bergeres, where they bivouacked for the night.

The position of Chalons presenting the advantage of forming a junction of the different corps of his army, Blucher resolved on marching thither; having received reports during the battle, that D'Yorck and Sacken had arrived at Rheims, and that Winzingerode was within one or two days' march of it.

The movements of Blucher's army having determined Napoleon to march against him, he quitted Troyes on the 27th of February, with the flower of his army, consisting
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of the whole of his guards, the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and a considerable body of cavalry, leaving a force under Marshal Oudinot to observe the grand army of the allies. Prince Schwartzenberg availed himself of this opportunity to again advance upon Troyes.

An obstinate contest took place at Bar-sur-Aube: that town was twice retaken by the French; but on the 27th, after a most severe action, it remained in the hands of the allies. The French continued to retreat during the following days; and on the 2d of March, their army was in position along the Barce, on the right of the Seine, and at La Maison Blanche, on the left of it.

Napoleon arrived on the Aisne on the 4th of March, and determined on the following day to attempt retaking Soissons.

On the evening of the 3d of March, Blucher, with the army of Silesia, had effected a junction with the corps of Generals Winzingerode and Bulow, at Soissons; and on the following day; he took up a position, on an extensive plateau, to the left, and in the rear of the town of Soissons, with his right close to the village of Laffaux, and his left near Craone.

The town of Soissons was defended by 10,000 Russian infantry, under the orders of General Rudzewich. On the 5th, soon after day-light, the attack was commenced by the French; they succeeded in obtaining possession of the greater part of the suburbs, and twice attacked the town itself, on opposite sides, with heavy columns; but were both times repulsed with great slaughter. Having retained possession of the greater part of the suburbs, they unroofed the houses, and kept up a constant fire from them upon the troops on the walls of the town, until night put a termination to the contest.

Napoleon had entrusted the operations of the 5th to the divisions of Marshals Mortier and Marmont. In the morning of the 6th, he gave up the contest, and retired. In the afternoon of that day he effected the passage of his army across the Aisne at Bery-le-Bac; and, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, commenced an attack on the left of the position occupied by Blucher's army near Craone. At the same time he detached strong columns
towards

towards Laon by the way of Corbeny. Under cover of the wood of Corbeny, he made his approaches, and sent forward large bodies of skirmishers, supported by artillery, which were repulsed, and the firing ceased with the night.

On the morning of the 7th, the French had desisted from their march upon Laon; and Blucher directed a strong corps to move across the river Delette, in the direction of Presle and Lenilly, to sustain the movement of the cavalry under Winzingerode, and, together with the corps of General Bulow, to make an attack on the French right, should they push forward against the point occupied by the infantry of General Winzingerode near Craone. General Sacken was ordered to the support of the latter, and to attempt to turn the French left, should he make his attack on the other side. If pushed by a superior force, he was directed to fall back on the road to Laon, and draw in the garrison of Soissons.

Napoleon began the attack at eleven in the forenoon, with his whole force, amounting to 60,000 men, against the point where General Winzingerode's infantry were posted. Blucher immediately rode to the spot where the cavalry was supposed to be formed, to direct the operations in that quarter; but unexpected difficulties had opposed the march of the cavalry during the night, and it was found to have advanced no farther than Presle. General Kleist's infantry, which had marched in the morning, reached Feticia; but the advanced guard of the cavalry alone had come up, and it became impossible to undertake with effect the movement which Blucher had projected against the right of the French.

The corps posted near Craone was in the mean time exposed to a most severe attack, and, after a most determined opposition, obliged to retire to Laon.

Blucher next took up a position in front of Laon, the elevated plateau on which the town itself is situated being occupied by the corps of General Bulow. In this position he was again attacked, under cover of a thick fog, before day-light on the morning of the 9th. The density of the atmosphere concealed all the movements of Napoleon, and he obtained possession of the villages of Semilly and Ardon, close under the town, and which may be regarded as its suburbs. The musquetry reached
the

the walls of the town, and continued without intermission until about eleven o'clock, when the fog began to disperse. The French were now in force behind the villages of Semilly and Lenilly, with columns of infantry and cavalry posted on the chaussée towards Soissons. They also occupied the village of Ardon.

As soon as the fog had dispersed, the French were driven from Semilly, and Blucher directed the cavalry from the rear to advance and turn their left flank. General Woronzoff advanced at the same time with his infantry, pushed forward two battalions of Yagers, which drove in the French posts. A part of General Bulow's corps was also ordered to advance against the village of Ardon, from which the French were compelled to retreat.

Whilst the cavalry of the allies was taking a circuit round from the rear, and at about two o'clock in the afternoon, Napoleon was observed to be advancing a column of sixteen battalions of infantry, with cavalry and artillery, along the chaussée from Rheims. General D'Yorck was directed to oppose this column, and General Sacken ordered to his support. Here the battle became most general and decisive.

The French opened a formidable battery of forty pieces of cannon, and advanced in a firm and undaunted manner. They formed a column of attack, and were moving forward to the village of Althies, when Prince William of Prussia, who was advancing to the village at the same time, met them half-way and overthrew them.

The French now began to retreat. It was at first executed in good order; but the allies pressing them warmly, confusion ensued, and the retreat was converted into flight. They were pursued as far as Corbeny, losing artillery, baggage, and many prisoners.

Notwithstanding the defeat of the right of Napoleon's army on the 9th, he renewed and continued his attack with the rest of his force during the whole of the succeeding day.

The plain below the city of Laon is interspersed with villages and small woods, which soon became the scene of very obstinate contests. A wood near the village of Clacy was taken and retaken four different times, and remained finally in the possession of the allies. In the

centre and left of the position Napoleon maintained himself; and, at about half an hour before sun-set, he advanced a body of skirmishers, supported by two battalions of infantry (the rest of his army remaining in reserve), and attacked the village of Semilly close under the walls of the town; but a battalion of Prussians threw itself in the road, and, supported by the fire of the troops from each flank, compelled them to retire in disorder and with loss.

Thus terminated the attacks of two succeeding days, in which Napoleon experienced continual defeat and discomfiture. The absence of the corps of D'Yorck, Kleist, and Sacken, which were in the morning pursuing the remainder of the troops that had advanced from Rheims, and which could not be recalled in time, prevented any active offensive operations on the second of these days; but success crowned the efforts of these corps in other respects, by the capture of between 3 and 4000 prisoners, besides a great quantity of ammunition and baggage, and 45 pieces of cannon. During the night of the 10th, Napoleon retired towards Soissons, pursued by the cavalry of Blucher's advanced guard.

Whilst these grand military operations were carrying on, the negotiations for peace still continued at Chatillon. The allies presented to Caulincourt, the French minister, the *projet* of a preliminary treaty, the main object of which was to restore the balance of power; but fourteen days elapsed without any answer being given to it. They then insisted on a day being fixed for a termination of the negotiations, or for receiving a *contre-projet* from the French minister. The 10th of March was appointed. Further delays, however, occurred; and, on the 15th, a *contre-projet* was presented, which being rejected by the allies, the negotiations were immediately put an end to. On this occasion the allied powers issued the following solemn declaration:—

“ The Allied Powers owe it to themselves, to their people, and to France, as the negotiations at Chatillon are broken off, publicly to declare the reasons which induced them to enter into negotiations with the French government, as well as the causes of the breaking off of the negotiations.

“ Military events, to which history can produce no parallel,

rallel, overthrew, in the month of October last, the ill-constructed edifice known under the name of the French Empire; an edifice erected on the ruins of states lately independent and happy, augmented by conquests from ancient monarchies, and held together at the expence of the blood, of the fortune, of the welfare, of a whole generation.

“The Allied Sovereigns, led by conquest to the Rhine, thought it their duty to proclaim to Europe anew their principles, their wishes, and their object. Far from every wish of domination or conquest—animated solely by the desire to see Europe restored to a just balance of the different powers—resolved not to lay down their arms till they had obtained the noble object of their efforts—they made known the irrevocableness of their resolutions by a public act, and they did not hesitate to declare themselves to the enemy’s government in a manner conformable to their unalterable determination.

“The French government made use of the frank declarations of the Allied Powers, to express inclinations to peace. It certainly had need of the appearance of this inclination, in order to justify, in the eyes of its people, the new exertions which it did not cease to require. But every thing, however, convinced the allied cabinets, that it merely endeavoured to take advantage of the appearance of a negotiation, in order to prejudice public opinion in its favour, but that the peace of Europe was very far from its thoughts.

“The Powers, penetrating its secret views, resolved to go and conquer, in France itself, the long-desired peace. Numerous armies crossed the Rhine. Scarcely were they passed the first frontier, when the French minister for foreign affairs appeared at the outposts.

“All the proceedings of the French government had henceforth no other object than to mislead opinion, to blind the French people, and to throw on the Allies the odium of all the miseries attendant on an invasion.

“The course of events had given the Allies a proof of the full power of the European league. The principles which, since their first union for the common good, had animated the councils of the Allied Sovereigns, were fully developed: nothing more hindered them from unfolding the conditions of the re-construction of the com-

mon edifice. These conditions must be such as were no hindrance to peace after so many conquests.

“ The only power calculated to throw into the scale indemnifications for France (England) could speak openly respecting the sacrifices which it was ready to make for a general peace. The Allied Sovereigns were permitted to hope, that the experience of the late events would have had some influence on a conqueror, exposed to the observation of a great nation, which was for the first time witness, in the capital itself, to the miseries he had brought on France.

“ This experience might have convinced him, that the support of thrones is principally dependent on moderation, and probity. The Allied Powers, however, convinced that the trial which they made must not endanger the military operations, saw that these operations must be continued during the negotiations. The experience of the past, and afflicting recollections, shewed them the necessity of this step. Their plenipotentiaries met those of the French government: meantime, the victorious armies approached the gates of the capital. The government took every method to prevent it falling into our hands. The plenipotentiary of France received orders to propose an armistice, upon conditions which were similar to those which the Allies themselves judged necessary for the restoration of a general peace. He offered the immediate surrender of the fortresses in the countries which France was to give up, on condition of a suspension of military operations.

“ The Allied Courts, convinced, by twenty years experience, that in negotiations with the French cabinet it was necessary carefully to distinguish the apparent from the real intention, proposed, instead of this, immediately to sign preliminaries of peace. This measure would have had for France all the advantages of an armistice, without exposing the Allies to the danger of a suspension of arms. Some partial advantages, however, accompanied the first motions of an army collected under the walls of Paris, composed of the flower of the present generation—the last hope of the nation, and the remainder of a million of warriors, who, either fallen on the field of battle, or left on the way from Lisbon to Moscow, have been sacrificed for interests with which
France

France has no concern. Immediately, the negotiations at Chatillon assumed another appearance. The French plenipotentiary remained without instructions, and went away instead of answering the representatives of the Allied Courts. They commissioned their plenipotentiaries to give in the *projet* of a preliminary treaty, containing all the grounds which they deemed necessary for the restoration of the balance of power, and which a few days before had been presented by the French government itself, at a moment, doubtless, when it conceived its existence in danger. It contained the groundwork for the restoration of Europe.

“ France, restored to the frontiers which, under the government of its Kings, had insured to it ages of glory and prosperity, was to have, with the rest of Europe, the blessings of liberty, national independence, and peace. It depended absolutely on its government to end, by a single word, the sufferings of the nation; to restore to it, with peace, its colonies, its trade, and the restitution of its industry. What did it want more? The Allies now offered, with a spirit of pacification, to discuss its wishes upon the subject of mutual convenience, which should extend the frontiers of France beyond what they were before the wars of the Revolution.

“ Fourteen days elapsed without any answer being returned by the French government. The plenipotentiaries of the allies insisted on the fixing a day for the acceptance or rejection of the conditions of peace. They left the French plenipotentiary the liberty to present a *contre-projet*, on condition that this *contre-projet* should agree in spirit, and in its general contents, with the conditions proposed by the Allied Courts. The 10th of March was fixed, by the mutual consent of both parties. This term being arrived the French plenipotentiary produced nothing but pieces, the discussion of which, far from advancing the proposed object, could only have caused fruitless negotiations. A delay of a few days was granted, at the desire of the French plenipotentiary. On March 15, he at last delivered a *contre-projet*, which left no doubt that the sufferings of France had not yet changed the views of its government. The French government, seceding from what it had itself proposed, demanded, in a new *projet*, that nations, which were quite foreign to France,

France, which a domination of many ages could not have amalgamated with the French nation, should now remain a part of it; that France should retain frontiers inconsistent with the fundamental principles of equilibrium, and out of all proportion with the other great Powers of Europe; that it should remain master of the same positions and points of aggression, by means of which its government, to the misfortune of Europe and that of France, had effected the fall of so many thrones, and so many revolutions; that members of the family reigning in France should be placed on foreign thrones; the French government, in short—that government which, for so many years, has sought to rule no less by discord than by force of arms—was to remain the arbiter of the external concerns of the Powers of Europe.

“ By continuing the negotiations under such circumstances, the Allies would have neglected what they owed to themselves; they would from that moment have deviated from the glorious goal they had before them; their efforts would have been turned solely against their people. By signing a treaty upon the principles of the French *projet*, the Allies would have laid their arms in the hands of the common enemy; they would have betrayed the expectations of nations, and the confidence of their Allies.

“ It is in a moment so decisive for the welfare of the world, that the Allied Sovereigns renew this solemn engagement, till they have attained the great object of their union.

“ France has to blame its government alone for all its suffering. Peace alone can heal the wounds which a spirit of universal dominion, unexampled in history, has produced. This peace shall be the peace of Europe; no other can be accepted. It is at length time that princes should watch over the welfare of the people without foreign influence; that nations should respect their mutual independence; that social institutions should be protected from daily revolution; property respected, and trade free.

“ All Europe has absolutely the same wish to make France participate in the blessings of peace—France, whose dismemberment the Allied Powers neither can nor will permit. The confidence in their promises may
be

be found in the principles for which they contend. Then whence shall the Sovereigns infer that France will take part in the principles that must fix the happiness of the world, so long as they see that the same ambition, which has brought so many misfortunes on Europe, is still the sole spring that actuates the government, that while French blood is shed in torrents, the general interest is always sacrificed to private. Whence, under such circumstances, should be the guarantee for the future, if such a desolating system found no check in the general will of the nation? Then is the peace of Europe insured, and nothing shall in future be able to disturb it."

Napoleon having thus rejected the only terms which the allies would grant, an appeal to arms was once more resorted to.

On the 18th of March, Blucher again put his army in motion, and on the 19th he directed Generals Woronzoff, Tchernicheff, and Benkendorff, with their corps, to carry Rheims. These officers attacked the town in the most determined manner, and succeeded in their object. Napoleon retired to Chalons and Epervier.

In the mean while Prince Schwartzberg, who, on the 15th had his head-quarters at Pont-sur-Seine, resolved to support the Prussian chief, by advancing upon Chalons. He accordingly took up a position at Menil la Comtesse, before Arcis-sur-Aube, where the French had assembled a considerable force. On the 21st an attempt was made to prevent the junction of the Prince with Blucher. It however failed; and Napoleon then withdrew towards Vitry, leaving at Arcis a strong rear-guard. This place was instantly attacked by the Prince Royal of Wurtemberg, and carried after a stout resistance.

The great and mighty events which now rapidly succeeded each other, almost defy description.

Napoleon having failed in his attempt to debouch from Plancy and Arcis, across the Aube, and abandoned his ideas of attacking Prince Schwartzberg at Menil la Comtesse, he was guided in his next operations by the desire of preventing the junction of the armies of Prince Schwartzberg and Marshal Blucher. Did he not succeed to the utmost in this object, it was evidently his best policy to force their union and their communications as far to the rear, and make it as circuitous as possible. It

was

was further manifest, by intercepted letters, that Napoleon was of opinion, that the movement he determined upon on the right of Prince Schwartzberg might induce him to fall back towards the Rhine, for fear of losing his communications; that he thus would be able to relieve his places, and be in a better condition to cover Paris. It generally occurs, that manœuvres are made with the advance, or the head of an army, but Napoleon in his present undertaking pushed his object so far, by the passage of the Aube with his whole army, near Vitry, as to have left himself completely open to that bold and magnificent decision which was immediately adopted.

Napoleon put his whole army in motion on the evening of the 21st for Vitry. That night he remained at Sommepeuis; on the following day his advanced corps arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place. It had been placed in a tolerable state of defence, and had a garrison of between 3 and 4000 Prussians. Marshal Ney endeavoured by every menace to obtain a surrender; but the brave Prussian Colonel resolutely refused, and held the town, which reduced the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges constructed near Frignicourt. Napoleon here passed his whole army on the 23d and 24th, and it was immediately ascertained to have taken the direction of St. Dizier. Three objects might be now in his view. By the movements round the right of the allies to force them back; if this failed, to operate upon their communications, and even proceed to form a junction with Marshal Augereau; or, finally, by moving to his fortresses of Metz, &c. prolong war by resisting on a new line, while he placed the Allies in the centre of France, having taken the best precautions in his power for the defence of his capital.

The Allies, on the 22d, having crossed to the right of the Aube, lost no time in adopting the bold resolution of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward; thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with an united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire.

In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougy, Lesmont, and Arcis, ou Vitry; and the Emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of eighteen and twelve leagues, established

established his head-quarters with those of the Field Marshal at Vitry, on the 24th. A brilliant capture of several pieces of cannon, 1500 prisoners, and a large number of caissons was made by General Augerawski, of the cavalry of the Russian guard, on the 23d; and on this day and the preceding, several advanced-guard affairs took place between General Wrede's corps, the Prince of Wurtemberg, and the enemy.

So soon as the Marshal took this decision, he made his dispositions accordingly, by forming a corps on the Bar-sur-Aube line, which he committed to the care of General Ducca, to protect the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, his supplies, &c. and carry them, if necessary, towards the army of the South; and also by vigorously pressing forward in his operations towards the capital, to secure his rear, while he pursued his objects in front. The combined army marched in three columns to Fere Champenoise, on the 25th. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance, and were to push forward to Sezanne: the sixth and fourth corps formed the advance of the centre column; the fifth was on the right; and the third corps, the reserves, and the guards, on the left. General Winzingerode, and General Tchernicheff, with all their cavalry, entered Vitry on the 23d, and were immediately detached to follow up Napoleon's march to St. Dizier, threatening his rear. General Winzingerode's infantry remained at Chalons with Marshal Blucher, together with General Woronzoff's and Sacken's corps. General Bulow marched to attack Soissons, and Generals D'Yorck and Kleist moved on the line of Montmirail. By these general movements, had Napoleon even not crossed the Aube, and passed between the two allied armies, he probably would have found himself in a similar position to that of Leipsic, and the result would have been of the same nature. The army was to have bivouacked on the 25th at Fere Champenoise. The corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, which had been retiring from before Marshal Blucher, were moving down towards Vitry, to connect themselves with Napoleon's operations, ignorant of his intentions, which might not have been fully formed until he found himself too far committed. These corps of his army were much perplexed on finding themselves close

to Prince Schwartzberg's army, when they expected to meet their own. Marmont's advance was within a very short distance, on the night of the 24th, of Vitry, without knowing it was in the occupation of the allies.

The grand army of the allies marched on the 26th to Mailleret, and their head-quarters were at Treffau.

Upon the retreat of Marmont, Mortier, and Arrighi's corps, before the several columns of the allied armies, whose junction had been effected between Fere Champenoise and Chalons, above 80 pieces of cannon, besides a large convoy, and a great number of caissons, fell into the hands of the allies: and the guns were abandoned in all directions by the French in their rapid retreat.

Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, who had moved from Montmirail on La Ferté-Gaucher, where they arrived on the 26th, contributed greatly to Napoleon's discomfiture. General D'Yorck was very seriously engaged with the enemy, and took 1500 prisoners at the latter place; and it may be fairly estimated, that this part of Napoleon's army was so roughly handled, as to lose one-third of its efficiency in point of numbers, with nearly all the artillery belonging to it. Nothing but continued forced marches could have enabled any part of the corps to have escaped.

The grand army was in position at Mailleret on the 26th; and this march was continued in three columns from Fere Champenoise. Intelligence was received from Generals Winzingerode and Tchernicheff, who continued following Napoleon's rear with 10,000 cavalry and 40 pieces of cannon, that he was marching by Brienne to Bar-sur-Aube and Troyes, hastening back to the capital with the utmost precipitation. Prince Schwartzberg continued his march on the 27th without interruption; and, on the evening of the same day, Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were at La Ferté-Jouarre. On the following morning his army was to pass the Marne, and the grand army also at Lagny; thus concentrating nearly their whole force on the right bank of the river, and taking position on the heights of Montmartre.

On the 28th, the grand allied army, and that of Silesia, continued their advance to Paris. The sixth corps, the Austrian grenadiers, the guards, and reserves, and the cavalry of his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Constantine,

stantine, took up their ground in the neighbourhood of Coullay and Manteuil. The third corps was at Mouron; the fifth remained at Chailly, with the advanced guard in the direction of La Ferté-Gaucher, observing the routes of Sezanne and Provins. The head-quarters of the army were established at Cuencey.

The corps of Generals D'Yorck and Kleist advanced on the 29th to Claye: the corps of General Langeron was on their right, and General Sacken in reserve; the corps of Woronzoff was in the rear at Meaux. Different bridges were constructed on the Marne, to enable the grand army to file over in various columns. Napoleon's rear, towards St. Dizier, was assailed on the evening of the 26th, and the morning of the 27th, by a very preponderating force, and was obliged to retreat in the direction of Bar-le-Duc.

On the 29th, the army of Silesia, having a corps on the Marne, was directed to advance on the great road of Soissons to Paris: General Count Langeron was on the right, near the village of La Valette. Generals D'Yorck and Kleist moved from the Meaux route into that of Soissons, to make room for Prince Schwartzberg's army: Generals Sacken and Woronzoff were in their rear. On the 28th, in the evening, a very sharp affair occurred at Claye, between General D'Yorck and the rear of the French: The ground they were posted on was very favourable for defence; and, in a very severe tirailade, General D'Yorck lost some hundred men; but the French were driven back at all points. The sixth corps passed at Triport, and reached Bondy at night, and the heights of Pantin. The fourth corps crossed at Meaux, with the guards, and reserves, and cavalry: the former was immediately directed to gain the high road from Lagny to the capital, and to take post on the heights of Chelle. The third corps was to support the fourth; the fifth moved to Meaux, and remained on the left of the Marne, having their cavalry at Cressy and Colomiers. On the advance of the sixth corps, some slight resistance was made at Villaparis; and, as it was necessary to relieve Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, and move them more to the right, a cessation of hostilities for four hours was agreed on by mutual consent.

The subsequent operations, previous to the surrender

of Paris, have been so fully detailed in our Memoirs of the Emperor Alexander, that a repetition of them would be quite superfluous: that event, the precursor of Napoleon's downfall, took place on the 31st of March, by the following capitulation, which will be for ever memorable, from having placed in the power of generous conquerors a city which had given laws to almost all Europe.

" Art. 1. The corps of the Marshals Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at 7 o'clock in the morning.

" Art. 2. They shall take with them all the appurtenances of their *corps d'armée*.

" Art. 3. Hostilities shall not recommence until two hours after the evacuation of the city; that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.

" Art. 4. All the arsenals, military establishments, workshops, and magazines, shall be left in the same state that they were previous to the present capitulation being proposed.

" Art. 5. The national or city guard is entirely separated from the troops of the line. It is either to be kept on foot, or disarmed, or disbanded, according to the ulterior dispositions of the Allied Powers.

" Art. 6. The corps of the municipal *gendarmérie* shall, in every respect, share the fate of the national guard.

" Art. 7. The wounded and the stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock shall be prisoners of war.

" Art. 8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the High Allied Powers.

" Done at Paris, the 31st of March, at two o'clock in the morning."

On the 31st, in the morning, the allies entered Paris. In the evening, Napoleon dispatched Caulincourt to the Emperor Alexander, offering to accede to the terms which the allies had offered at Chatillon. The Emperor replied, that the time was past for treating with Napoleon as Sovereign of France.

The capital of the French empire being thus in the possession of the allies, the Senate soon came to the resolution of deposing Napoleon; and that Body accordingly

ingly transmitted, by their President, the following letter to the members of the Provisional Government:—

“GENTLEMEN, MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT—The Senate commission me to request you to signify to the French people to-morrow, that the Senate, by a decree passed in its sitting, have declared, that the Emperor Napoleon and his family have forfeited all right to the throne, and consequently absolved the French people and the army from their oath of allegiance. This act will be sent to you to-morrow, with the motives and reason of it. I have the honour to salute you.

“The President of the Senate, BARTHELEMY.”

“*Paris, April 2d, half-past nine
in the evening.*”

This decree was in the following terms:—

“The Conservative Senate, considering that, in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution, or social compact—

“That Napoleon Buonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice; but that afterwards he violated the compact which united him to the French people; particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to Article 53 of the Act of the Constitution of the 28th Floreal, year 12—

“That he committed this attack on the rights of the people even in adjourning, without necessity, the Legislative Body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that body, the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed—

“That he undertook a series of wars, in violation of Article 50 of the Act of the Constitutions of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as law—

“That he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees, inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition—

“That

“ That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisons of the state—

“ That he annulled the responsibility of the ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of the judicial bodies :

“ Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary controul of his Police ; and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments—

“ That acts and reports heard by the Senate have undergone alterations in the publication :

“ Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country, by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour—

“ By the abuse which he made of all the means entrusted to him in men and money—

“ By the abandonment of the wounded, without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence.

“ By various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases :

“ Considering that, for all these causes, the Imperial Government established by the Senatus Consultum of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish, manifested by all Frenchmen, calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the æra of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European Family—

“ The Senate declare and decree as follows :—

“ Art. 1. Napoleon Buonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

“ Art. 2. The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Buonaparte.

“ Art.

“ Art. 3. The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the Provisional Government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital.”

The Provisional Government immediately decreed—

“ That all the emblems, cyphers, and arms, which have characterized the government of Buonaparte, shall be suppressed and effaced, wherever they exist.

“ That this suppression shall be executed exclusively by persons delegated by the authority of the Police or Municipality, without the zeal of individuals assisting in it, or preventing it.

“ That no address, proclamation, public journal, or private writing, contain injurious expressions against the government overthrown; the cause of the country being too noble to adopt such means.”

The Provisional Government also addressed the following proclamation to the French armies.

“ SOLDIERS!—France has just broken the yoke under which she has groaned with you for so many years.

“ You have never fought but for the country; you can no longer fight, unless against it, under the colours of the man who leads you.

“ Behold all you that have suffered from his tyranny: you were lately a million of men; nearly all have perished; they were delivered up to the sword of the enemy, without food, without hospitals; they were condemned to perish of misery and hunger.

“ Soldiers!—It is full time to end the calamities of the country: peace is in your hands. Will you refuse it to desolated France? Your enemies themselves demand it of you; they regret to ravage these fine countries, and wish only to take up arms against your oppressor, and our's. Shall you be deaf to the voice of the country, which summons and intreats you? It addresses you by its Senate, by its capital, and, above all, by its misfortunes; you are its noblest children, and cannot belong to him who has ravaged it, who has delivered it up without arms, without defence; who wished to render
your

your name odious to all nations, and who would have compromised your glory, if a man, who is not even a Frenchman, could have weakened the glory of our arms, and the generosity of our soldiers.

“ You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon; the Senate and all France absolve you from your oaths.”

During these transactions in the French capital, so fatal to Napoleon, he had retired to Corbeil; and from thence collected his army in the neighbourhood of Fontainebleau, which amounted to between 40 and 50,000 men. That he would make a desperate attempt was thought probable, if his army stood by him.

On the 1st of April, in the morning, Napoleon reviewed the troops. The marshals and generals, who had learned from the papers, the resolutions of the Senate and the Provisional Government, conversed together on the subject loud enough to be heard by Napoleon; but he appeared to pay no attention to what they said, and the review passed quietly. When it was over, Marshal Ney entered the palace with him, and followed him into his cabinet, where he asked him if he was informed of the great revolution that had taken place at Paris. He replied, with all the composure he could assume, that he knew nothing of it; though he was doubtless well informed of the whole. The Marshal then gave him the Paris papers, which he seemed to read with attention; but he was only seeking to gain time to form an answer. Meantime came Lefebvre, who, addressing his late Emperor in a feeling tone, said, “ You are undone: you would not listen to the counsels of any of your servants; and now the Senate has declared that you have forfeited the throne.” These words made such an impression on him, that he immediately burst into a flood of tears; and, after some minutes’ reflection, wrote an act of abdication in favour of his son.

On the 5th, about eleven o’clock, several generals sent to the Duke of Bassano, who was mostly alone with the Emperor, to dissuade him from appearing on parade; but he would not refrain from it. About half past eleven, he formed a plan, which he made the Duke of Bassano write and sign with him, to repair, with 20,000 men that he had still with him, to Italy, and join the Prince Eugene
Napoleon.

Napoleon. He repeated several times, "If I choose to go there, I am certain that all Italy will declare for me."

On the parade, he looked pale and thoughtful; and his convulsive motions shewed his internal struggles: he did not stop above eight or ten minutes. When he got into the palace, he sent for the Duke of Reggio, and asked him if the troops would follow him? "No, Sir," answered the Duke, "you have abdicated." "Yes, but upon certain conditions." "The soldiers," resumed the Duke, "do not comprehend the difference; they think you have no more any right to command them."—"Well then," said Napoleon, "this is no more to be thought of; let us wait for the accounts from Paris."

Marshals Ney and Macdonald, together with Caulincourt, had been dispatched by Napoleon, with proposals to the Allied Powers to abdicate in favour of his son; but this proposition was inadmissible, and nothing but the entire exclusion of his family would be allowed.

The Marshals returned in the night between twelve and one. Ney entered first.—"Well, have you succeeded?" exclaimed Napoleon.

"Revolutions do not turn back," said Ney; "this has begun its course; it was too late. To-morrow the Senate will recognize the Bourbons."

"Where shall I be able to live with my family?"

"Where your Majesty shall please; and, for example, in the Isle of Elba, with a revenue of six millions."

"Six millions! that is a great deal for a soldier, as I am. I see very well I must submit. Salute all my companions in arms." (Here he ceased speaking.)

The act of abdication was drawn up in the following manner:—

"The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, *faithful to his oath*, declares, that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no *personal sacrifice*, even that of life, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France."

At the same time the following treaty was concluded with him by the Allied Powers.

“ Treaty between the Allied Powers and His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

“ Art. 1. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces, for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well to the French Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy, as over every other country.

“ Art. 2. Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Emperor, shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of his family.

“ Art. 3. The Isle of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form, during his life, a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property; there shall be besides granted, in full property, to the Emperor Napoleon, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs, in rent charge, in the great book of France, of which 1,000,000 shall be in reversion to the Empress.

“ Art. 4. The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be granted, in full property and sovereignty, to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they shall pass to her son, and to the descendants in the right line. The Prince her son shall from henceforth take the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

“ Art. 5. All the Powers engage to employ their good offices to cause to be respected by the Barbary powers the flag and territory of the Isle of Elba; for which purpose the relations with the Barbary powers shall be assimilated to those with France.

“ Art. 6. There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced to his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and family, domains or rent-charges in the great book of France, producing a revenue, clear of all deductions and charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains and rents shall belong, in full property, and to be disposed of as they shall think fit, to the Princes and Princesses of his family, and shall be divided amongst them in such manner that the revenue of each shall be in the following proportion, viz.

“ To

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| " To Madame Mère | 300,000 francs. |
| " To King Joseph and his Queen . . | 500,000 |
| " To King Louis | 200,000 |
| " To the Queen Hortense and to her children | } 400,000 |
| " To King Jerome and his Queen . . | |
| " To the Princess Eliza | 300,000 |
| " To the Princess Paulina | 300,000 |

2,500,000

" The Princes and Princesses of the house of the Emperor Napoleon shall retain, besides, their property, moveable and immoveable, of whatever nature it may be, which they shall possess by individual and public right, and the rents of which they shall enjoy (also as individuals.)

" Art. 7. The annual pension of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to 1,000,000 in domains, or inscriptions in the great book of France: she shall continue to enjoy, in full property, all her private property, moveable and immoveable, with power to dispose of it conformably to the French laws.

" Art. 8. There shall be granted to Prince Eugene, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

" Art. 9. The property which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, either as extraordinary domain, or as private domain attached to the crown, the funds placed by the Emperor either in the great book of France, in the bank of France, in the Action des Forets, or in any other manner, and which his Majesty abandons to the crown, shall be reserved as a capital, which shall not exceed 2,000,000, to be expended in gratifications in favour of such persons, whose names shall be contained in a list to be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and which shall be transmitted to the French government.

" Art. 10. All the crown diamonds shall remain in France.

" Art. 11. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall return to the treasury, and to the other public chests, all the sums and effects that shall have been taken out

by his orders, with the exception of what has been appropriated from the Civil List.

“ Art. 12. The debts of the household of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they were on the day of the signature of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the Civil List, according to a list which shall be signed by a Commissioner appointed for that purpose.

“ Art. 13. The obligations of the Mont-Napoleon, of Milan, towards all the creditors, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, shall be exactly fulfilled, unless there shall be any change made in this respect.

“ Art. 14. There shall be given all the necessary passports for the free passage of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, or of the Empress, the Princes, and Princesses, and all the persons of their suites who wish to accompany them, or to establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects, belonging to them. The Allied powers shall in consequence furnish officers and men for escorts.

“ Art. 15. The French Imperial Guard shall furnish a detachment of from 12 to 1500 men, of all arms, to serve as an escort to the Emperor Napoleon to St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

“ Art. 16. There shall be furnished a corvette and the necessary transport vessels, to convey to the place of his destination his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, and his household; and the corvette shall belong, in full property, to his Majesty the Emperor.

“ Art. 17. The Emperor Napoleon shall be allowed to take with him and retain as his guard 400 men, volunteers, as well officers as sub-officers and soldiers.

“ Art. 18. No Frenchman who shall have followed the Emperor Napoleon or his family, shall be held to have forfeited his rights as such, by not returning to France within three years; at least, they shall not be comprised in the exceptions which the French government reserves to itself, to grant after the expiration of that term.

“ Art. 19. The Polish troops, of all arms, in the service of France, shall be at liberty to return home, and shall retain their arms and baggage, as a testimony of their honourable services. The officers, sub-officers, and
soldiers,





Prince Metternich.

soldiers, shall retain the decorations which have been granted to them, and the pensions annexed to those decorations.

“ Art. 20. The high Allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty, and engage to obtain that it shall be adopted and guaranteed by France.

“ Art 21. The present act shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within two days, or sooner, if possible.

“ PRINCE DE METTERNICH,

“ J. P. COMTE DE STADION,

“ ANDRE COMTE DE RASAMOUFFSKI,

“ CHARLES ROBERT COMTE DE NESSELRODE,

“ CASTLEREAGH,

“ CHARLES AUGUSTE BARON DE HARDENBERG,

“ MARSHAL NEY.

“ (L. S.) CAULINCOURT.

“ Done at Paris, the 11th of April 1814.”

Napoleon having thus by a formal act relinquished his right to the thrones of France and Italy, and accepted an asylum in Elba, he left Fontainebleau on the 21st of April, accompanied by four Commissioners of the Allied powers. His escort consisted of fourteen carriages: four officers of his household (among whom was his baker) formed part of his suite. Few of the military departed with him; and even those who did, were to leave him when he embarked.

The following are nearly the words which he addressed, on the setting off, to the officers and subalterns of the old guard, who were still with him. “ I bid you farewell. During the twenty years that we have acted together, I have been satisfied with you; I have always found you in the path of glory. All the powers of Europe have armed against me—a part of my generals have betrayed their duty—France herself has betrayed it. With your assistance, and that of the brave men who remained faithful to me, I have for three years preserved France from civil war. Be faithful to the new king whom France has chosen: be obedient to your commanders, and do not abandon your dear country, which too long has suffered. Pity not my fate: I shall be happy when I know that you are so likewise. I might have died—nothing would have been more easy for me:

but

but I still wish to pursue the path of glory. What we have done I will write. I cannot embrace you all; but I will embrace your General—Come, General.” (He embraced him.) “Let the eagle be brought to me, that I may also embrace it.” On embracing it, he said, “Ah, dear eagle, may the kisses which I bestow on you resound to posterity! Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Once more encompass me.” Then the staff, accompanied by the four Commissioners of the Allied powers, formed a circle around him. Napoleon now got into the carriage. At that moment he could not hide his confusion, and he dropped some tears. In going, he called for Constant, his first valet-de-chambre; but he had concealed himself, probably in order that he might not have to follow Napoleon, though he had on the preceding day received a present of 50,000 francs.

All those who remained near Napoleon till the moment of his departure, were struck with the want of soul and sensibility which he displayed towards the persons who surrounded him. Not one emotion of tenderness, not one expression of the heart escaped him, to shew that he was susceptible of the least attachment; one might have supposed that he feared lest his fall might extort some regrets: his servants, therefore, on this trying occasion, almost to the last man, abandoned him; so much so, that the evening before his departure he had only one man to wait in his chamber.

As every circumstance connected with his progress to the Island of Elba must prove a source of interest to our readers, we shall make no apology in being minute in our details; but we cannot vouch for their authenticity.

Napoleon passed through Montargis on the 22d of April, in a carriage and six, with about 25 horsemen behind him. The Russian, Austrian, French, English, and Prussian officers, were in six chariots, with six horses each; and were followed by about twenty carriages, with the baggage and domestics of Napoleon. Baggage and led horses, with picquets of cavalry, had passed through in the morning. The foot-guards who were in the barracks were under arms. They respected the fall of Buonaparte by keeping silence, and giving no sign either of approbation or disapprobation. He passed through the ranks, and entered the town, affecting a calm air, and saluting

saluting to the right and left the persons who were at the windows, and were curious to see him. Many people charged him with a boastful assumption of insensibility. The truth is, he interested very few people. General Bertrand was in the carriage, and appeared more affected than him. Napoleon slept at the castle of Ariare. He thus travelled by short stages, on his way to St. Tropez.

At the post-house of La Tour, near Lyons, Buonaparte supped alone, and shewed some ill temper because the four Commissioners remained too long at table. He then set out and got forward alone upon the road towards nine o'clock at night. The curate of the place followed to observe him. He heard him sing, "*Oh, Richard! Oh, mon roi! l'univers t'abandonne.*" When the complaint was finished, the curate advanced, and even put himself before Napoleon, in the idea that he would seek to enter into conversation with him. This was in fact the case. The night was very fine. "You are a priest," said Buonaparte, with an air sufficiently imposing.—"Yes, Sire, I am Curate of this place." "Has your parish suffered?"—"A great deal, Sire; it has been destroyed by requisitions." "Requisitions are the inevitable consequences of war. Monsieur le Curé," said he, then looking at the sky, "I once knew the names of the stars, but I have forgotten them. Do you know which is that?"—"I never did know, Sire." Thus the conversation ended.

In passing through Lyons, he purchased a Bible of Sacy. He desired also to have the most complete collection of pamphlets, posting-bills, proclamations, addresses, acts of adhesion, in short, of all the papers by which the public joy had been manifested, at the news of his dethronement. They were enabled to furnish him with these at Lyons for the sum of 1100 francs. The inhabitants accompanied him out of the city, with shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*"

During the first part of his journey he ate by himself; but when the rumours, always increasing in the south, and the rising of several of the cities which he traversed, had convinced him that the people were ready to proceed against him to the utmost extremities, he saw no other means of safety but in assuming the costume of an Austrian officer. It was then he determined also to renounce

nounce his character of Emperor, and to take his meals with the Commissioners who escorted him, and to whom he owed the preservation of his life. The first day that he sat at table, the Commissioners remarked that he ate nothing, and that he secretly rejected the meat which he put to his mouth. He feared that he should be poisoned! The next day he asked permission to have dinner dressed by his own cook. This was assented to; and he ate very heartily.

The tone of master abandoned Buonaparte altogether on quitting Lyons; but it was at La Caladre, a little inn of Provence, that he shewed the greatest signs of weakness, and a kind of alienation of mind, that could be found only in so inconsistent a being. The fears that agitated him were so violent, that the Allied Commissioners could scarcely find the means of making him tranquil. The most singular costume was hardly thought sufficient to disguise him. At one time he required that the servant of one of the Commissioners, who was in front of the chaise, should set himself to smoke: he requested one of the officers to sing; and when he excused himself, he begged him at least to whistle! Another pretended to be asleep. He was desirous that all about him should assume an air of excessive familiarity, which would set aside every idea of consideration or respect. He pushed forward in advance to arrive at La Caladre. The Commissioners found him in the inn, with his face leaning on his hands, bathed in tears. He told them that his life was absolutely sought after; that the hostess of the inn, who had not recognized him, had told him that the Emperor was a villain, and that they sought to embark him only to drown him. He would not eat nor drink, however much they pressed him: and although the example of those about him might have set his mind at ease, he would make his repast only on bread and water taken from his chaise which he devoured with avidity. He boasted of the good that he pretended to have done for France: he expressed astonishment at the ingratitude of the nation; although he declared at the same time that he had a sovereign contempt for all mankind! He declared he had never done evil to any one. As for war, he admitted that he had carried it to excess; but he pleaded in excuse the desire that France had for aggrandisement.

aggrandisement. Sometimes he fell into moral dissertations. "Men kill themselves for love," said he—"folly! They kill themselves because they have lost their fortunes—cowardice! They kill themselves that they may not live dishonoured—weakness! But to survive the loss of an empire, and the outrage of one's contemporaries—behold in that what is true courage!" His fears were not always chimerical. The sabre was at one time raised against one of the people of his suite, who was unwilling to cry "*Vive le Roi!*" In one place, when the train stopped for a moment to change horses, a woman approached one of the Commissioners, and said to him, "In the name of Heaven, Sir, give us leave to plunder him; you have as much reason to complain of him as we have. It is not cruelty, but justice." On his part, he did not neglect any precaution. One day, to the great astonishment of those who accompanied him, he and his people were found decorated with white cockades, which must have been provided before the commencement of the journey. At one time he was timid, even to meanness; and again, on the least appearance of safety, he assumed an arrogant and coxcomb air: sometimes he tried his perfidy anew, endeavouring to inspire the Austrian Commissioner with distrust of Russia and Prussia. When he saw the sea, he could not suppress a kind of shivering. He had the appearance of believing that they were going to drown him. He spoke several times at Lyons, in a manner that gave reason to think he had relied on that town.

Napoleon arrived at Montelimart on Sunday, at six o'clock in the evening, and departed at nine, after supping. On the arrival of a number of couriers, who preceded the carriage in which he was, the inhabitants of Montelimart ran to the post-house, a little without the town, where he was expected. Many persons entered, and spread themselves on the stairs, in the hall, at the windows of the apartments, to see him; but curiosity was disappointed by the rapidity of Napoleon in alighting from his carriage and rushing into his apartment, and from his apartment back again to his carriage. It was evident, however, that Napoleon was not tranquil; and that, in place of remorse, he had cruel trances. The conversation which he had with several persons, and particularly

with the *Sieur Chabane*, the master of the post-house, betrayed the most lively anxieties for the sequel of his journey. We know these apprehensions were only the result of a panic fear. We subjoin the substance of the conversation between him and *M. Chaubane*.

"Are you master of this inn?"—"Yes, *Sire*."

"At what hour do you think I shall arrive at *Avignon*?"—"To-morrow, about six or seven in the morning."

"The devil! I shall arrive in day-light, then. The roads must be very bad."—"They are not good, *Sire*."

Napoleon then, putting his hand to his forehead, uttered these broken expressions:—"Six or seven in the morning: it will be day—broad day. The people of *Avignon* still love the maintenance of grandeur, even to folly; their heads are hot—elevated—like the natives of *Provence*. In that country is the famous *glaciere*. I do not wish to enter *Avignon*. Let horses be brought without the ramparts—it is there they shall be changed."

At this moment, some persons employed in the administration of the forests, and in the collection of the consolidated duties, asked to see him. He made them come in; spoke to them for about five minutes, and then dismissed them with these truly philosophic and consoling expressions—"Gentlemen, do as I do—resign yourselves." Napoleon then went out of his apartment to mount his carriage. The crowd of inhabitants had increased; but the people were quiet enough. One of his valets invited some soldiers of the carriages to cry "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and gave them some money; but the cries of these were soon smothered by shouts, a thousand times repeated, of "*Vive Louis XVIII.!*" "*Vivent les Bourbons!*"

The town of *Avignon* had suffered so much from the revolution and its results, that it regarded the fall of Napoleon as the moment of its returning prosperity and happiness. In the twinkling of an eye every person mounted the white cockade; the white flag fluttered on the public edifices, and the Imperial insignia disappeared. All the civil and military authorities were obliged to follow this movement; and the National guard had enough to do to moderate the exultation of the people. Hitherto all had gone well: but on Sunday, the 23d,

three carriages arrived, bearing the Imperial arms, and a report was instantly spread that it was Napoleon: the people collected, and surrounded the carriages; they instantly opened the doors, and sought for him! At length it was understood that he was not in either, and that they contained only some persons of his suite. Without listening to any thing that was said, the populace made them put on the white cockade, and cry "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive Louis XVIII.!*" It was not till after they had torn off the eagles from the carriages, that they suffered them to proceed; but, unfortunately, by means of conversation with the escort, they learned that Napoleon himself would arrive that night, or on Monday morning, and they seemed resolved to watch for him. The ferment was considerable; nevertheless, towards the evening the crowd decreased, and tranquillity was restored.

On Monday, at four in the morning, the English officer arrived, who preceded Napoleon. The officer of the guard asked him, if Napoleon's escort was strong, and in a condition to prevent any kind of outrage which might be offered. The British officer appeared much affected at the apprehensions which were entertained; and intreated the guard to protect, by all possible means, the passage of Napoleon, whose personal safety was guaranteed by the august allies.

At length, about six o'clock, the carriage of Napoleon arrived; but, in consequence of intelligence that had been transmitted, the convoy stopped at the opposite end of the town from that at which it was naturally expected to enter. Thither the relays of post-horses were taken; and the same officer who had spoken to the English commandant, galloped there with his troop. He found the carriage surrounded by the mob, who had begun to commit excesses. Men and women were calling out for their children and relatives, victims of his ambition, and complaining of all the injuries they had endured. Already one man had seized the handle of the carriage-door, when a servant of Napoleon, who was sitting on the box, attempted to draw his sabre to defend his master. "Foolish man," said the officer, "do not attempt to stir!" and, by saying this, he induced the man at the carriage-door to let go his hold. Napoleon, letting down the coach-glass in front, with much agitation,

cried out three times to his domestic to remain quiet, and then made signs of thanks to the officer. During this occurrence, the people recognised Napoleon, and this was all that they appeared to wish for. In short, the officer was obliged to face about with his corps, and clear the streets; he then ordered the postilion to drive away at full gallop. Napoleon had only time to exclaim, "*Bien obligé!*" General Bertrand was in the left corner of the carriage; but he did not stir, nor did he even utter a word, while all this was passing. The foreign generals who accompanied him, wished to get out of their carriages to join with the soldiers, and defend to the last extremity the charge with which they were intrusted; but they were persuaded to remain quiet: and this respect which was paid to them was an additional cause of the security of Napoleon.

In passing through Donzere, at eleven o'clock on the night of the 24th, Napoleon was very badly received. The inhabitants of that place were celebrating the festival of the re-establishment of their lawful Sovereign on the throne of his ancestors: the streets were illuminated, dances were formed, and joy was in all hearts. In this enthusiasm, the inhabitants made a line before the carriage of Napoleon, to stop its progress, and thundered in his ears cries of "Long live the Bourbons!" "Long live Louis XVIII.!" "Down with the Tyrant!" "Down with the butcher of our children!"

In the night of the 25th, Buonaparte passed through the city of Aix. On his way to Orgon the peasants assembled, and called on him to cry "Long live the King!" which he did.

It appears that he was much frightened with all the occurrences to which the indignation of the inhabitants gave rise as he passed through the South of France. On quitting Orgon, where he gave himself up for lost, he took the resolution of changing his carriage, his name, and even his dress, to escape the danger which became every minute more alarming.

He arrived at Frejus dressed as an Austrian officer, with a Russian pelisse; and on his head he wore a Prussian cap, *adorned with a very large white cockade!* In this strange garb he was completely disguised: besides, he had a long beard, his eyes were hollow, and he looked

looked very uneasy: he expressed a wish to make but one step from the carriage to the frigate which was to carry him to Elba.

The eve of his departure, he had an interview with the Princess Borghese, who, notwithstanding his pressing entreaties, had no wish to follow him. The bad state of the roads not permitting him to continue his route from Luc to St. Tropez, Colonel Campbell caused two frigates to proceed to St. Rapheau, the one French, the other English. It was in the latter that Napoleon embarked. Those who are fond of noticing such coincidences, will recollect with some interest, that it was also at St. Rapheau, Napoleon landed on his return from Egypt.

Throughout the whole of his route, he manifested the most vivid terrors, and preserved a gloomy silence: but when, approaching the coast, he perceived the Mediterranean fleet, and the sails of the vessels in the roads, his heart dilated; he began to speak with wonderful volubility, and, according to custom, with much incoherency.

It was reported, that, in his conversation with Marshal Augereau, he often exclaimed, "*All is finished for me in Europe; but Asia wants a man!*"

The Russian, Prussian, Austrian, and English Commissioners, and Captain Usher, of the Undaunted frigate, who was appointed to convey him to Elba, dined with him on the 27th of April. On the introduction of Captain Usher, he said, that though formerly the enemy of England, he was now as sincerely its friend; and that it was a great nation. On Captain Usher observing, that he feared he could but ill accommodate him, Napoleon said, a British man-of-war was a palace. At dinner the subject was chiefly naval, of which he appeared a perfect master. On some surprise being expressed, how he could make himself so perfect a master of the minutiae of the navy, when he had such great, and so many other affairs of higher importance, he bowed and felt the compliment: but said, that in three years his plans would have been complete; that he was about to build 20 sail of the line on the Elbe, and would have had 200 sail of the line well manned, for that his naval conscription fully answered his expectations. On its being observed by
 Captain

Captain Usher, that his naval conscripts did not create much alarm, he seemed much surprised, adding, that our ministers well knew the Toulon fleet was manned with them.

On the 3d of May, at six in the evening, the English frigate appeared in the roads of Porto Ferrajo; she hoisted out a boat which landed several officers of the Russian, English, and Austrian staffs, with two French generals, accompanying the Ex-Emperor. These officers having officially communicated to the Commandant of the port the events which had taken place in France, the abdication of Napoleon, and his arrival at Elba, all the necessary preparations were made, during the night, for his reception. All the authorities were required to attend the ceremony of his entrance.

Next morning a flag, sent by the dethroned Emperor, was brought into the town with some sort of solemnity, and immediately hoisted on the castle, amidst a salute of artillery. This flag had a white ground, interspersed with bees; and in the centre appeared the arms of Napoleon, and those of the Isle, united by a rose-coloured stripe.

Some time after the flag was hoisted, Napoleon landed with all his suite, and was saluted with 101 rounds of cannon. The English frigate replied to the salute with 24 guns. On this occasion, Napoleon was dressed in a blue great coat, under which appeared a suit richly embroidered with silver, with a peculiar decoration: he had a small round hat, with a white cockade; three fiddlers and two fifers preceded him, amidst a multitude of people rather curious than eager to see him. He was conducted to the house of the Mayor, where he received the visits of all the superior civil officers: he spoke to each of them, affecting an air of confidence, and even of gaiety, putting a number of questions relative to the isle.

After reposing some moments, Napoleon got on horse-back, and, with his suite, visited the forts of Marciana, Campo, Capo Liviri, and Rio.

On the morning of the 5th, accompanied by the Commissioners of the Allied powers, he mounted his horse and rode to Porto Longone, five miles from Porto Ferrajo. He also visited the iron mines, which constitute the wealth
of

of the isle of Elba. He asked those around him what might be the revenue of these mines? "500,000 livres." "These 500,000 livres will then be mine." "But, Sire, you know, that by a decree you appropriated them to the Legion of Honour." "Where was my head when I gave this order? I have issued so many foolish decrees in my life-time."

In addition to the interesting narrative of Napoleon's journey and voyage, we cannot resist the temptation of adding the narrative of Captain Usher.

"Soon after my arrival at Frejus," says Captain Usher, "Count Bertrand, Grand Marshal, informed me that it was the Emperor's wish to see me—(he is still acknowledged Emperor and Sovereign of the Island of Elba). When I was presented, he said, he was once a great enemy to England, but now he was as sincere a friend. He said, we were a great and generous nation. He asked me about the wind, weather, distance to Elba, and other nautical questions; he then bowed, and retired. He was very dignified; still the Emperor. I received his command to dine with him: there were at table the Russian, Austrian, Prussian, and English Commissioners, and the Grand Marshal; the conversation was most interesting. He laughed when I asked if he did not issue his Milan decree for forcing America to quarrel with us; this he did not deny: he said, all his plans were on an immense scale, and would have been finished in four or five years. I have not time to repeat all his interesting conversation. That night we embarked all his numerous baggage. In the morning he sent for me; he asked how the wind was, and said, that he had made up his mind to embark at eight in the evening.

"At seven o'clock an immense mob formed round his hotel; he sent for me, and I remained half an hour along with him. His sword was on the table, and he appeared very thoughtful: there was a great noise in the street. I said to him, "The French mob are the worst I have seen;" he answered, "They are a fickle people." He appeared deep in thought; but recovering himself, rung the bell, and ordering the Grand Marshal to be sent for, he asked him if all was ready? Being answered in the affirmative, he turned to me, and said, in his usual quick way, 'Allons.' The stairs were lined on each side with ladies
and

and gentlemen; he stopped a moment, and said something to the ladies, which I could not hear. He walked to his carriage, and called for me—(not a safe birth); he then called the Austrian Commissioner and the Grand Marshal. I sat opposite to him in the carriage, and we drove off.

“ He was handed into the boat by a nephew of Sir Sydney Smith, who is my fourth lieutenant; rather an odd coincidence: Lieutenant Smith had been confined in a prison for seven or eight years; I introduced him; the Emperor seemed to feel his conscience prick him; he only said, “ Nephew to Sir Sidney Smith; I met him in Egypt.” When he went on board, he walked round the ship; my people crowded about him, and for the first time in his life he felt confidence in a mob.

“ His spirits seemed to revive, and he told me next morning, he had never slept better; next day he asked me a thousand questions, and seemed quite initiated in all nautical matters. At breakfast and dinner there was a great deal of conversation; he spoke of the Scheldt expedition. I asked him if he thought we should succeed? He said, “ Never;” and turning towards the Austrian Commissioner, he said, “ I wrote from Vienna, that the expedition was intended against Antwerp.”

“ He told me, that his motive in annexing Holland to France, was for a naval purpose, and that he thought the Zuyder Zee particularly well adapted for exercising his conscripts.

“ At breakfast one morning, he asked me to bring-to a neutral brig that was passing; I said, laughing, that I was astonished his Majesty would give such an order, as it was contrary to his system to denationalize; he turned round, and gave me a pretty hard nip, saying, “ Ah! Captain!”

“ When we were sailing by the Alps, he leaned on my arm for half an hour, looking earnestly at them. I told him he once passed them with better fortune. He laughed, and liked the compliment. He told me he had been once wounded in the knee, by an English serjeant. He looks uncommonly well and young. He is much changed for the better, being now very stout. He shewed me a portrait of the King of Rome, who is very like his father. He likewise shewed me one of the Em-
press,

press, which is rather pretty. We had a smart gale when off Corsica. He asked me to anchor at Ajaccio, the place of his birth; but the wind changing, made it impossible. In the gale, I told him I had more confidence than Cæsar's pilot: the compliment pleased him. I returned to Frejus, to embark the Princess Borghese, his sister, who goes on a visit to Elba. He dresses very plain, wearing a green coat, with the decorations of the Legion of Honour.

"The whole-length portrait of him, with the cocked hat, and arm folded in his breast, as walking in the grounds of Malmaison, is the strongest likeness of him I have seen."

Having traced the life of Napoleon thus far, we had here intended to close his Memoirs; but a new and unexpected revolution having once more raised him to the imperial throne of France, renders it necessary to continue it down to that eventful epoch. Whether he will be able to withstand the formidable confederacy of Europe, whose object it is again to dethrone him, is a matter of deep reflection, and upon which it would be too hazardous to venture an opinion: we shall, however, avail ourselves of the opportunity which this Work will afford, before its close, to bring down the events of his life to that period, when it may be presumed, that the great and terrible struggle which is now preparing will have terminated either in the overthrow or establishment of his new government.

That his active and ever-daring mind would be constantly employed in contriving to recover the throne of France, was certainly to be expected; and but a feeble security against his attempts was to be found in the treaty which the allies had made with him. Whether the alleged violations of that treaty by the government of France be true or not, or whether they scrupulously fulfilled its conditions, is immaterial, as enough of his character might be known from the events of his former life, to render it necessary strictly to watch all his motions. By a fatality, however, which is truly surprising, this man, who had hardly ever formed a treaty which he did not violate when it suited his policy, and who was the idol of the French army, if not of the French people, was allowed every facility which he could himself desire

of carrying his plans into execution. The place of his exile, if it may be so termed, was the best that could possibly be contrived for carrying his purposes into execution; and scarcely would his residence at *Fontainebleau* itself have afforded him greater facilities. Yet, so great was the supineness of the French government, that no precautions whatever were taken to prevent his return. How soon after his arrival at Elba, he began to think of his daring attempt, is not known; but it may be presumed, that he was not long on that island before he began to form his treasonable practices. If it be true, that the congress at Vienna had determined to remove him to a remote situation, the knowledge of that circumstance might have determined him to anticipate their intention by a bold attack on the throne of Louis. Leaving these conjectures, however, to be determined by others, we shall proceed to narrate the circumstances connected with this new and unexpected occurrence in Napoleon's life. So secret had he been in his preparations for this mighty enterprise, that General Bertrand, his most intimate and confidential friend, had no intimation of it until the very moment of sailing; and that no suspicions might any where be excited, Napoleon resolved to trust the conveyance of his troops to such vessels as might be in Porto Ferrajo at the time of his sailing.

On the 26th of February, every thing being ready, he set sail from Porto Ferrajo in his own brig, accompanied by four smaller vessels, which he had seized for the purpose, and having on board 1000 or 1100 men, composed of French, Italians, Poles, Neapolitans, and Elbese. On leaving the island, he ordered General Lassi to make the following proclamation:—

“INHABITANTS!—Your august Sovereign is called, by Divine Providence, to his ancient glory; and has left this island, of which he has confided the command to me, and the internal government to six of your most distinguished fellow-citizens: to your own tried attachment and valour he leaves the defence of the place, and the maintenance of good order. ‘I leave,’ said he, ‘the island of Elba, highly satisfied with the conduct of its inhabitants; I entrust to them the defence of the island, to which I attach the greatest importance. I cannot give them a stronger proof of confidence than in leaving, after the departure

departure of the troops, my mother and my sister to their care. The members of the Junta, and all the inhabitants of this island may rely on my affection and special protection.' Inhabitants! this is a most fortunate and memorable epoch for you; on your conduct alone depends your glory and future felicity. Continue to obey, implicitly, the wise dispositions of the Junta, and the orders which the public authorities may have to issue under these circumstances. Rejoice, Elbese, and do not allow yourselves to be contaminated by the pestiferous insinuations of the enemies to good order.

"Porto Ferrajo, 27th February 1815."

On the 1st of March, Napoleon landed in the bay of Juan, between Frejus and Antibes, in the department of the Var. He immediately dispatched fifteen men to summon the town of Antibes; these were admitted within the gates, and immediately disarmed, by order of Baron Corsim, the commandant. Another summons appeared shortly after to demand the cession of the town, in the name of General Drouet, who met with the same fate: a like reception was also given to a messenger who afterwards arrived on a similar errand.

Napoleon now sent a detachment of 50 men to occupy the town of Cannes: the officer who commanded them gave the Mayor directions to repair to the shore, to receive instructions from the General-in-Chief. Napoleon reached Cannes about half an hour after midnight: his army bivouacked in the vicinity of the town; and, at three o'clock in the morning of the 2d, they continued their march, headed by drums and trumpets, and preceded by four pieces of cannon, and a superb carriage, in which the Emperor was seated. He took the route to Grasse, and, halting within a league of it, sent forward an officer to sound the dispositions of the inhabitants; which not proving favourable, he proceeded through St. Vallier, leaving Grasse to the left, and by the main road towards Digne, a considerable town in the department of the Lower Alps. On the 3d, Napoleon arrived at Barême within four leagues of Digne. On the 4th he entered the latter place; and proceeded, the same day, to Gap, pushing on with hasty strides towards Grenoble.

On landing in France, Buonaparte had issued two pronouncements, one to the French people, and the other to

the army, both bearing date the 1st of March. These proclamations were widely disseminated in the course of his journey. Several thousands of them were printed at Gap, for distribution; as well as addresses from the soldiers of his guard to their comrades of the French army. These were well calculated to make an impression upon his former subjects: the disasters and disgraces which they had recently sustained were all imputed to treachery; and he held out to them the pleasing but delusive hope, that his presence would restore the glory of the French empire. That to the people of France was as follows:—

“ Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815.

“ *NAPOLEON, by the grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.*

“ TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

“ FRENCHMEN!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies: the army, of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army which threatened Paris.

“ The victories of *Champ Aubert*, of *Montmirail*, of *Chateau Thierry*, of *Vauchamp*, of *Mormans*, of *Montereau*, of *Craone*, of *Rheims*, of *Arcy-sur-Aube*, and of *St. Dizier*—the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comté, and of Bourgoin—and the position which I had taken in the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserves, from its convoys and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource—it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it mercilessly ravaged; when the treason the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital, and disorganised the army. The unexpected conduct of those two Generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the world. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that

the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its parks of reserve.

“ Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot; I thought their presence useful to France: and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

“ Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law; he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

“ Frenchmen!—In my exile I heard your complaints, and your wishes; you demanded that government of your choice, which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

“ I have crossed the seas, in the midst of dangers of every kind; I arrive amongst you to resume my rights, which are your's. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be for ever ignorant of; it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

“ Frenchmen!—There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying a Prince imposed

imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a Prince Regent of England.

“ It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory to owe every thing.

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.”

His proclamation to the French army was as follows:—

“ Gulph of Juan, March 1, 1815.

“ NAPOLEON, *by the grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.*

“ TO THE ARMY.

“ SOLDIERS!—We were not conquered: two men, risen from our ranks, betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

“ Those, whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France; shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature? They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

“ Soldiers!—In my exile I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils. Your General, called to the throne by the voice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you; come and join him.

“ Tear down those colours, which the nation has proscribed, and which for 25 years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tricolor; you bore it in the days of our greatness.

“ We

“ We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

“ Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen, who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came; and there, if they please, they shall reign, as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory—the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children—have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

“ The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated; their honourable wounds are disgraced: their successes were crimes—those heroes were rebels—if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

“ Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

“ Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your Chief: his existence is only composed of your's; his rights are only those of the people and your's; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no more than your interest, your honour, and your glory: Victory shall march at the charge-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple even to the towers of Nôtre Dame. Then you will be able to shew your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they will hear you with respect while you recount your high deeds; you will be able to say with pride—“ And I, too, was part of that grand army which entered twice the walls of Vienna,
those

those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow: and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason, and the presence of the enemy, imprinted on it.

“Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country! and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank Fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country!

“By the Emperor,

(Signed)

“NAPOLEON.

“The Grand Marshal, performing the functions of Major-General of the Grand Army,

“BERTRAND.”

Intelligence of Napoleon's landing was quickly conveyed to Paris; and measures were immediately taken to counteract his design. After having issued a proclamation to convoke the Chambers, Louis published an ordinance to the following effect:—

“*LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:*

“The twelfth article of the Constitutional Charter specially authorises us to issue regulations and ordinances necessary for the safety of the state. It would be essentially compromised, were we not to take prompt measures for crushing the enterprise that has just been formed at one of the points of our kingdom, and to prevent the effects of the plots and attempts tending to excite civil war, and to overturn the government.

“For these reasons, and on the report which has been made to us by our beloved and trusty Chevalier, the Chancellor of France, Sieur Dambray, Commander of our Orders, by the advice of our Council, we have ordered and order, declared and declare, as follows:—

“Art. 1. Napoleon Buonaparte is declared a traitor and a rebel, for having introduced himself, by force of arms, into the department of the Var. All the governors, officers commanding the armed force and National Guards, the civil authorities, and even private citizens; are enjoined to go in quest of him, to apprehend him, and to bring him without delay before a council of war; which, after having ascertained his identity, shall sentence him to the punishment pronounced by the law.

“2. The

“ 2. The same punishment shall be inflicted, as guilty of the same crimes, upon the military men and civil officers of all ranks, who shall have accompanied or followed the said Buonaparte in his invasion of the French territory, unless within eight days, reckoning from the publication of the present ordinance, they come to make their submission to our governors, commandants of military divisions, general or civil administrations.

“ 3. All civil and military administrators, chiefs, and subordinate persons in the said administrations, payers and receivers of public money, and also the private citizens, who shall directly or indirectly aid and assist Buonaparte, shall, in like manner, be prosecuted and punished, as promoters and accomplices of rebellion, and of attempts tending to change the form of the government and excite civil war.

“ 4. Those persons shall suffer the same punishments, conformably to article 102 of the Penal Code, who, by language held in public places or companies, by posted placards or by printed works, shall have taken part, or induced the citizens to take part, in the rebellion, or to abstain from repressing it.

“ 5. Our Chancellor, our Ministers, Secretaries of State, and our Director-General of the Police, each in what concerns him, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance, which shall be inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*, addressed to all the governors of military divisions, generals, commandants, prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors of our kingdom, with orders to cause it to be printed and posted both at Paris and elsewhere, and wherever there shall be occasion.

“ Given at the Palace of the Thuilleries, the 6th of March 1815, and of our reign the 20th.

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.”

In order to bind the troops to the interests of Louis, Marshal Soult, the minister of war, issued the following order of the day:—

“ SOLDIERS!—That man who, but a short time since, before the eyes of all Europe, abdicated his usurped authority, of which he had made so fatal an use, Buonaparte, has landed upon the French soil, which he ought never to have re-visited.

“ What does he want?—Civil war. What does he

seek?—Traitors. Where will he find them? Will it be among the soldiers whom he has deceived and sacrificed, so often disappointing their valour? Will it be in the bosom of those families which his name alone fills with terror?

“Buonaparte must estimate us low indeed, to think that we can abandon a legitimate and beloved sovereign, to share the fate of a man who is only an adventurer. He is weak enough to believe it; and this last act of perfidy is sufficient to convince us.

“Soldiers!—The French army is the noblest army in Europe, and it will also be the most faithful.

“Let us rally round the banners of the lily, at the voice of the father of his people, the true heir of the virtues of the great Henry. He has shewn you the duties that you have to fulfil. He puts at your head this prince, the model of the chevaliers of France, whose happy return into our country has already chased away the usurper, who is now endeavouring by his presence to destroy his only and last hope.”

These measures, however, were of little avail against the enterprise and activity of Napoleon; and the effect which they might otherwise have had was lost by the treachery which pervaded almost every department of the government.

On the 9th of March, the House of Peers having met, they voted the following address to the King; and if the sentiments of the French people were to be gathered from these testimonies of affection which were offered to Louis, he would have had little to fear from any attempt of Napoleon to wrest from him the sceptre of his ancestors.

“SIRE!—The Peers of France bring to the foot of your throne a new homage of their respect and attachment.

“The desperate enterprise which is at this moment undertaken by the man that was for a long time the terror of Europe, has not disturbed the great mind of your Majesty. But, Sire, you have been obliged to adopt firm and wise measures to insure public tranquillity. We admire, at the same time, your Majesty's courage and foresight. You assemble round you your faithful houses. The nation has not forgotten that, before your happy return, mad
pride

pride had dared to dissolve them, and forced them to keep silence when it feared its sincerity. Such is the difference between legitimate and tyrannical power.

“Sire! your intelligence apprised you, that the Constitutional Charter—that monument of your wisdom, insured for ever the stability of your throne, and the security of your subjects. The grateful nation presses round you. Our brave armies, and the illustrious chiefs who command them, engage upon their honour that such a rash and criminal attempt shall be attended with no danger. The National Guards, which maintain order in our towns and provinces with so much energy, will suffer no disturbance there.

“The man that makes dishonourable calculations upon perfidy, to excite civil war among us, will find unity and fidelity every where, and unbounded devotion to your sacred person.

“All the acts of your Majesty’s government hitherto have been marked with paternal kindness. If it should be necessary that the laws should become more severe, you would undoubtedly deeply lament that necessity; but the two Houses, actuated by the same spirit, will immediately concur in every measure that the importance of circumstances, and the safety of the state, may require.”

His Majesty replied to this address as follows:—

“I am deeply affected with the sentiments expressed to me by the House of Peers.

“The calmness that you have probably observed in me arises from the full conviction that I have of the affection of my people, the fidelity of my armies, and the concurrence of the two Houses. My firmness proceeds from the sense of my duties.”

Whilst every preparation was making at Paris to repel the attempts of the invader, the progress of Napoleon was truly alarming, and left the French court but little time to prepare against his attack, or to fix the wavering dispositions of the people and army.

At two in the afternoon of the 6th, Napoleon set out from Gap, accompanied by the whole population of the town.

At St. Bonnet, the inhabitants, seeing the small number of his troops, had fears, and proposed to him to sound the tocsin to assemble the villages, and accompany him *en*

masse. "No," said Napoleon, "your sentiments convince me that I am not deceived. They are to me a sure guarantee of the sentiments of my soldiers. Those whom I shall meet will range themselves on my side; the more there is of them, the more my success will be secured. Remain therefore tranquil at home."

On the 6th, 40 of his advanced guard fell in with the advanced guard of a division of 6000 men, troops of the line, who had gone from Grenoble to arrest his march. General Cambronne wished to speak with the advanced posts. He was answered, that they were prohibited from communicating with him. Napoleon, being informed of this circumstance, went to the place, and found there a battalion of the 5th of the line, a company of sappers, a company of miners, in all from 7 to 800 men. He sent an officer of ordnance, the *chef d'escadron* Roul, to make known to these troops the intelligence of his arrival; but that officer could not obtain a hearing, the prohibition being still urged against having any communication. Napoleon alighted, and went to the right of the battalion, followed by the guard with their arms reversed. He made himself known, and said that the first soldier who wished to kill his Emperor might do it; an unanimous cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was their answer. This regiment, it appears, had been under the orders of the Emperor from his first campaigns in Italy. The guard and the soldiers embraced. The soldiers of the 5th immediately tore off their cockade, and requested, with enthusiasm and tears in their eyes, the tri-coloured cockade. When they were arranged in order of battle, Napoleon said to them—"I come with a handful of brave men, because I reckon on the people and on you—the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it has not been raised by the nation; it is contrary to the national will, because it is contrary to the interests of our country, and exists only for the interest of a few families. Ask your fathers—ask all the inhabitants who arrive here from the environs, and you will learn from their own mouths the true situation of affairs; they are menaced with the return of tythes, of privileges, of feudal rights, and of all the abuses from which your successes had delivered them. Is it not true, peasants?"—"Yes, Sire," answered all of them, with an unanimous cry, "they wish

wish to chain us to the soil: you come as the angel of the Lord to save us." The soldiers of the battalion of the 5th now demanded to march the foremost in the division that covered Grenoble. They commenced their march in the midst of a crowd of inhabitants which augmented every moment.

Fatigued as was Napoleon, he wished to enter Grenoble the same evening. Between Vizille and Grenoble the young Adjutant Major of the 7th of the line came to announce to him that Colonel Labedoyere had detached himself from the division of Grenoble, and had come with the regiment by a forced march to meet him.

The troops had re-entered Grenoble, and the gates of the city were shut. The ramparts which defend the city were covered by the 3d regiment of engineers, consisting of 2000 sappers; by the fourth of artillery of the line, the same regiment in which, 25 years before, Napoleon had been a Captain; by the two other battalions of the 5th of the line; by the 11th of the line; and the hussars of the 4th.

The national guard and the whole population of Grenoble were placed in the rear of the garrison. As soon as Napoleon made his appearance, they made the air ring with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* They opened the gates; and at ten at night Napoleon entered Grenoble, in the midst of an army and a people animated by the most lively enthusiasm. The next day he was addressed by the municipality and all the departmental authorities. At two he reviewed the troops in the midst of the whole population of the department. The garrison of Grenoble immediately afterwards put itself in a forced march to advance upon Lyons. The 9th, Napoleon slept at Bourgoin.

According to his own journal of his progress, which must be cautiously received, his march from Grenoble to Lyons was nothing but a triumph. The Emperor, says his journal, fatigued, was in his carriage going at a slow pace, surrounded by a crowd of peasants singing songs, which expressed to all the noblesse the sentiments of the brave Dauphinois. "Ah," said the Emperor, "I find here the sentiments which for twenty years induced me to greet France with the name of the Great Nation; yes, you are still the Great Nation, and you shall always be so."

In

In the mean time, the Count d'Artois, the Duc d'Orleans, and several Marshals, had arrived at Lyons. They wished to break down the bridge De la Guillotiere, and the bridge Moraud. Napoleon gave orders, however, to General Bertrand to assemble the boats at Misbel, with the intention of passing in the night, and intercepting the roads of Moulins and of Mâcon, to the prince who wished to prevent him from passing the Rhone. At four he sent a reconnoissance of the 4th hussars, who arrived at La Guillotiere, and were received with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* The passage of Misbel was countermanded, and the Emperor advanced at a gallop upon Lyons, at the head of the troops which were to have defended it against him.

The Count d'Artois, says Napoleon, had done every thing to secure the troops. He was ignorant that nothing is possible in France to an agent of a foreign power, and one who is not on the side of national honour and the cause of the people. Passing in front of the 13th regiment of dragoons, he said to a brave soldier covered with scars and decorated with three chevrons, "Let us march, comrade; shout, therefore, *Vive le Roi!*" "No, Monsieur," replied this brave dragoon, "no soldier will fight against his father. I can only answer you by crying *Vive l'Empereur!*" The Count d'Artois mounted his carriage, and quitted Lyons, escorted by a single gens-d'arme.

At nine o'clock at night, Napoleon traversed the Guillotiere almost alone, but surrounded by an immense population. The following day, the 11th of March, he reviewed the whole division of Lyons, and General Brayer at their head, immediately put them in march to advance upon the capital.

On the 13th, at three in the afternoon, Napoleon arrived at Villefranche, a little town of 4000 souls, which included at that moment more than 60,000. He stopped at the Hotel de Ville. A great number of wounded soldiers were here presented to him. He entered Mâcon at seven o'clock in the evening, surrounded by the people of the neighbouring districts.

On the 15th Napoleon slept at Autun; and from Autun he went to Avallon, and slept there on the night of the 16th. He found, he says, upon this road the same sentiments as among the mountains of Dauphiny. He re-established in their offices all the functionaries who had been



Comte D'Artois.



been deprived of them for having united to defend their country against foreigners. The inhabitants of Ghiffey had been peculiarly the object of persecution by an upstart sub-prefect at Semur, for having taken up arms against the enemies of our country. Napoleon gave orders to a brigadier of *gendamerie* to arrest this sub-prefect, and to conduct him to the prison of Avallon.

On the 17th he breakfasted at Vermanton, and went to Auxerre. At this place, Count Bertrand, his Major-General, gave orders to collect all the boats to embark the army, which was already four divisions strong, and to convey them the same night to Fossard, so that they would be able to arrive at one o'clock in the morning at Fontainebleau. Before he left Auxerre, Napoleon was rejoined by the perjured and perfidious Ney, who had so solemnly pledged his word to Louis.

In the mean time the French government had collected a very large force at Melun, in order, if possible, to stop the progress of the invader, and crush his hopes. The force which they had assembled, was estimated at not less than 100,000 men. The best spirit seemed to prevail amongst them. They appeared devoted to the cause of the King, and eager to meet and repel his antagonist. A powerful artillery strengthened their positions. Relying on their numbers, they had left the towns, the rocks, and the forest of Fontainebleau unguarded; preferring the flat plains of Melun, where the whole of their army might act at once, against the comparatively small band of the invader.

On the 20th, Napoleon reached and occupied Fontainebleau without the least opposition. He had, at that time, with him only 15,000 veteran troops; but other divisions were either following him, or advancing to support his right and left flanks on parallel lines of march. Ney, whose corps is stated to have amounted to 30,000 men, had previously communicated to the King a declaration, signed by the whole army under his command, both officers and privates, in which they stated, "that they respected him too much to deceive him; that they would not fight for Louis XVIII. and that they would shed all their blood for *Napoleon the Great.*" This declaration, which sufficiently explains the apparent hesitation, inactivity, or want of skill of Ney, did not, however, entirely
 extinguish

extinguish the hopes of the Bourbons. They still relied on the good disposition and numbers of the troops at Melun; and, blinded by the addresses sent up from many garrisons and provinces, at the very moment of their defection, still thought that their cause would be espoused by the nation as their own. As a measure of precaution, however, part of the King's household was dispatched to secure the road to Calais, in case a retreat should prove necessary, and, on the 19th, occupied Amiens.

Napoleon turned off, when he approached the Seine, towards Fontainebleau, which he occupied on the 19th; being determined, that the palace which had witnessed his downfall, should be the first that should receive him in his success.

Early on the morning of the 20th, preparations were made for the encounter which was expected to take place. The army was drawn up in three lines, the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries: the centre occupied the Paris road. The ground from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continual declivity; so that, on emerging from the forest, you have a clear view of the country before you, whilst, on the other hand, those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence (broken only at times by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops, by repeating the royal airs of "*Vive Henri Quatre!*" and "*La Belle Gabrielle!*" or by the voice of the commanders, and the march of the divisions to their appointed ground) pervaded the army. All was anxious expectation; the chiefs conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty, and the troops, perhaps, secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainebleau no sound as of an army rushing to battle was heard; if the enemy was advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence: perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night; if so, France was saved, and Europe free. At length a light trampling of horses became audible—it approached; an open carriage attended, by a few huzzars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest—it drove down the hill with the rapidity of lightning—it reached the advanced posts—"Long live the Emperor!"

Emperor!" burst from the soldiery—" *Napoleon! Napoleon the Great!*" spread from rank to rank; for, bare-headed, (Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left) Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers, whom he called his friends, his companions in arms, whose honour, whose glories, whose country, (he said) he now came to restore. All discipline was forgotten, disobeyed, and insulted—the commanders in chief took to flight—thousands rushed on his passage—acclamations rent the sky. At that moment, his own guard descended the hill—the Imperial march was played—the eagles were once more displayed—and those whose deadly weapons were to have aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts. In the midst of these greetings did Napoleon pass through the whole of the royal army; and, placing himself at its head, pursued his course to Paris. The population of the villages flocked round him; the inhabitants of Paris, informed of his approach, came out to meet him; and, at the head of 200,000 persons, in the midst of enthusiastic acclamations, did he re-enter the capital!

The next day, the 21st, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Napoleon held a review of all the troops that composed the army of Paris. After he had passed through the ranks, all the troops were ranged in square battalions.

"SOLDIERS," said he, "I arrived in France with 600 men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers. I was not deceived in my expectation. Soldiers! I thank you. Glory, like that which we are about to acquire, is every thing to the people and to you! My glory is, that I have known and valued you.

"Soldiers!—The throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers—because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation, declared in all our national assemblies—because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights. Soldiers! the Imperial throne can only secure the rights of the people, and, above all, the first of our interests—our glory!

"Soldiers!—We are now to march, to hunt from our territory

territory these Princes, auxiliaries to strangers: the nation will not only second us, in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations; but woe to those who shall interfere with our's!"

General Cambronne, and the officers of the guard of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, having appeared, with the ancient eagles of the guard, Napoleon continued—

"These are the officers of the battalion that has accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart! Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army; for among these 600 noble fellows are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory those glorious days, of which even the memory is so dear; for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles! In loving them, it was you, Soldiers, the whole French army, that I loved! They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve as a rallying point. In giving them to the Guard, I give them to the whole army. Treason and unhappy events have covered them with a melancholy veil; but, thanks to the French people and to you, they now reappear, glittering in all their glory! Swear that they shall be present wherever the interest of the country may require them!—That traitors, and those who would invade our territory, shall never be able to endure their sight!"

"We swear it!" cried every soldier, with a burst of enthusiasm. The troops then defiled to the sound of music, the bands playing—" *Veillons au salut de l'Empire.*"

Immediately on his arrival in Paris, Napoleon made the following appointments:—

The Arch-Chancellor (Cambaceres) to be Minister of Justice.

The Duke of Gaeta (Gandin), Minister of Finance.

The Duke of Bassano (Maret), Secretary of State.

The Duke of Otrante (Fouche), Minister of General Police.

Count Mollien, Minister of the Imperial Treasury.

Marshal

Marshal Prince D'Eckmuhl (Davoust), Minister at War.

The Duke de Rovigo (Savary), Principal Inspector of the *Gens d'Armes*.

The Count de Bondy, Prefect of the Department of the Seine.

The Councillor of State, M. Rial, Prefect of Police.

On the 21st he appointed the Duke of Vicenza (Caulincourt) Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Count de Montesquieu, Commander in Chief of the National Guard; and the General of Division, La Harpe, Commander of all the troops of the line in Paris.

All monuments and inscriptions, calculated to recal the memory of the Bourbons, were ordered to be instantly effaced. The Duke of Vicenza was dispatched to Vienna, to demand Maria Louisa and her son. The bronze bust of Napoleon was replaced on the gate of the Museum; and, in like manner, his bust, crowned with laurel, was placed above the gate of the School of Medicine: and directions were given for all other emblems of the Emperor to be replaced in a similar way.

Napoleon having now succeeded to his utmost wishes, he directed all his measures to one great object—the firm re-establishment of his throne. For this purpose, he published several important decrees, among which the following deserve to be particularly noticed:—

“ 1. All the generals and officers, by land and sea, of whatever rank, introduced into our armies since the 1st of April 1814, whether emigrated or not, who quitted the service at the moment of the first coalition, when the country had the greatest need of their services, shall immediately cease their functions, shall discontinue the emblems of their rank, and return to the place of their domicile.

“ 2. Prohibitions are given to the minister at war, to the inspectors of reviews, to the officers of the pay-office, and to other departments, not to disburse any pay, to the soldiers, upon any pretext whatever, after the date of the present decree.

“ 3. The white cockade, the decoration of the lily, the orders of St. Louis, of the Holy Spirit, and of St. Michael, are abolished.

“ 4. The national cockade shall be worn by the troops,

troops, both by sea and land, and by the citizens. The tri-coloured flag shall be placed upon the public buildings in the cities, and upon the steeples in the country.

" 5. No foreign corps shall be admitted into the guard of the Sovereign. The Imperial guard is re-established in its functions. It shall not be recruited but from men who have been twelve years on service in our armies.

" 6. The hundred Swiss, the guards of the gate, the Swiss guards, under whatever denomination, are suppressed. They shall be sent, from the date of the publication of this decree, 20 leagues from the capital, and 20 leagues from our Imperial palaces, until they are legally authorized, and the fate of the soldiers shall be assured.

" 7. The military house of the King, as well as the body-guard, the musqueteers, the light-horse, &c. are suppressed.

" The horses, arms, the clothes, and equipments, shall be placed under the responsibility of the chiefs of corps.

" 8. Sequestration shall be put upon all the property which form the appanages to the Princes of the house of Bourbon, and upon those which they possess, under whatever title.

" 9. All the property of emigrants belonging to the Legion of Honour, to the hospitals, to the communes, to the sinking fund, or in short which form part of the domain under any denomination, and which has been acquired since the 1st of April to the detriment of the national interest, shall immediately be put under sequestration.

" The prefects and officers of registration shall lend their assistance in the execution of the present decree, as soon as they shall be informed of it; and, in case of failure on their part, they shall be answerable for the injury the nation shall sustain thereby.

" 10. The noblesse are abolished, and the laws of the constituent assembly shall be put in force.

" 11. Feudal titles are suppressed. The laws of our national assemblies shall be put in force.

" 12. Individuals who have obtained from us national titles, as a national recompence, and whose letters patent have

have been verified at the council of the seal of titles, shall continue to bear them.

“ 13. We reserve to ourselves the power to bestow titles on the descendants of men who have rendered the French name illustrious in various ages, whether in the command of our armies by land or sea, in the councils of the sovereign, in the judicial and civil administration, or in arts and sciences, and in commerce, conformably to a law which shall be published upon the subject.

“ 14. All the emigrants who shall not have been erased, pardoned, or pensioned, by us or by the governments that have preceded us, and who have entered France since the 1st of January 1814, shall instantly depart out of the territory of the empire.

“ 15. Such emigrants as within fifteen days after the publication of the present decree shall be found within the territory of the empire, shall be arrested and judged according to the laws decreed by our national assemblies; at least, in all cases where they are not able to prove that they were not acquainted with the present decree, in which case they shall only be arrested and conducted by the gens-d'armes out of the country.

“ 16. Sequestration shall be put upon all their property, moveable or immovable; the prefects and officers of registration shall take care that the present decree is executed as soon as they shall be informed of it; and, in case of disobedience, they shall be responsible for any deficiency that may be found in consequence in our national treasury.

“ 17. All promotions made in the Legion of Honour, by every other grand master than ourself, and all brevets signed by any other person than the Count Lacépède, Grand irremovable Chancellor of the Legion, are null and void.

“ 18. The changes made in the decorations of the Legion of Honour, not conformable to the statutes of the order, are null and void. Each member of the Legion of Honour shall re-assume the decoration, such as it was on the 1st of April 1814.

“ 19. Nevertheless, as a great number of promotions, although made illegally, have been given to persons who have rendered real service to the country, their titles shall be transmitted to the grand chancery, in order that a report

port may be made to us in the course of April, and a determination made before the 15th of May.

“ 20. The political rights of the members of the Legion of Honour are re-established. In consequence, all the members of the legion, who, on the 1st of April 1814, made a part of the electoral colleges of department and of *arrondissement*, and who have been unjustly deprived of this right, are re-established in their functions. All those who were not yet members of an electoral college, shall send their demands to the grand chancellor of the Legion of Honour, stating at the same time the college to which they are desirous of belonging. The chancellor shall receive our orders in the month of April, and shall expedite the brevets without delay, in order that those who shall have received them may assist at the assemblies of the *Champ de Mai*.

“ 21. All the property belonging to the order of St. Louis, with the chest of the invalids, shall be united to that of the Legion of Honour.

“ 22. The Chamber of Peers is dissolved.

“ 23. The House of Commons is dissolved. It is commanded that every member convoked, and who has arrived in Paris since the 7th of March, shall return home without delay.

“ 24. The electoral colleges of the departments of the empire shall be assembled at Paris in the course of the month of May next, in extraordinary assembly of the *Champ de Mai*, to take such measures as may be convenient to correct and modify our constitutions, conformably to the interest and will of the nation; and, at the same time, to assist at the coronation of the Empress, our very dear and well-beloved wife, and of our dear and well-beloved son.”

The ministers of Napoleon, no less than himself, were indefatigable in his service. His Council of State, which had been suppressed under the government of Louis, having resumed its functions, they immediately published the result of their deliberations; and this, like every other measure of Napoleon and his ministry, held out the delusive doctrine, that the people were the only legitimate source of power, and that his right was derived from their choice, whilst that of the Bourbon family, having
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only the proscriptive title derived from their ancestors, could have no legal claim to the throne.

“ The sovereignty,” say they, “ resides in the people; it is the only legitimate source of power.

“ In 1789 the nation recovered its rights, long usurped or misunderstood. The National Assembly abolished the feudal monarchy, and established a constitutional monarchy and the representative government. The resistance of the Bourbons to the wishes of the people occasioned their downfall, and their banishment from the French territory.

“ Twice did the people sanction by its votes the new form of government established by its representatives.

“ In the year 8, Buonaparte, already crowned by victory, was invested with the government by the national consent; a constitution created the Consular office.

The senatus consultum of the 28th Thermidor, year 10, appointed Buonaparte Consul for Life.

“ The senatus consultum of the 28th Floreal, year 12, conferred on Napoleon the Imperial dignity, and rendered it hereditary in his family.

“ These three solemn acts were submitted to the approbation of the people, who sanctioned them with near four millions of votes.

“ Thus for 22 years the Bourbons had ceased to reign in France; they were forgotten there by their contemporaries; strangers to our laws, our institutions, our manners, and our glory; the present generation knew them not, but by the remembrance of the foreign wars which they had excited against the country, and the intestine dissensions which they had enkindled within it.

“ In 1814, France was invaded by hostile armies, and the capital occupied. Foreigners created, what they styled, a provisional government. They assembled the minority of the senators, and forced them, against their will, to destroy the existing constitutions, to overthrow the Imperial throne, and to recal the family of the Bourbons.

“ The Senate, which had been instituted only to preserve the constitutions of the empire, itself acknowledged that it possessed not the power of altering them. It decreed, that the plan of the constitution which *it had prepared should be submitted to the acceptance of the people,*

ple, and that Louis Stanislaus Xavier should be proclaimed King of the French as soon as he should have accepted the constitution, and sworn to observe it, and cause it to be observed.

“ The abdication of the Emperor Napoleon was but the result of the unfortunate situation to which France and the Emperor were reduced by the events of the war, by treason, and by the occupation of the capital; his abdication was signed solely to prevent civil war and the shedding of French blood. Unsanctioned by the wish of the people, this act could not destroy the solemn contract concluded between it and the Emperor; and if Napoleon could have personally abdicated the crown, he could not have sacrificed the rights of his son, called to reign after him.

“ Meanwhile, a Bourbon was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and assumed the reins of government.

“ Louis Francis Xavier arrived in France; he made his entry into the capital; he took possession of the throne, according to the manner established in the ancient feudal monarchy. He had not accepted the constitution decreed by the Senate; he had not sworn to observe it, and to cause it to be observed; it had not been submitted to the people for their acceptance; the people, overawed by the presence of foreign armies, could not even express its wish freely and in a valid manner. Under their protection, after thanking a foreign prince for having replaced him on the throne, Louis Stanislaus Xavier dated the first act of his authority in the 19th year of his reign; thus declaring, that the acts which had emanated from the authority of the people, were but the offspring of a long rebellion. He *granted voluntarily, and by the free exercise of his royal authority, a constitutional charter, styled Ordinance of Reformation*; and, as its only sanction, he caused it to be read before a new body which he had just created, and an assembly of the deputies which was not free, which did accept it, none of whom was invested with such a character as to be authorized to consent to this change, and two-fifths of whom had not even the character of representatives.

“ All these acts, therefore, were illegal. Done in the presence of the enemy's armies, and under foreign authority,

city, they were merely the work of violence, they are essentially null, and inimical to the honour, the liberty, and the rights of the people.

“ Adhesions, given by undelegated persons and functionaries, have neither been capable of cancelling nor supplying the consent of the people, expressed by votes, formally obtained and legally given. If these adhesions, as well as the oaths, could ever have been obligatory on those who gave them, they would have ceased to be so, the moment the government which received them has ceased to exist.

“ The conduct of the citizens who served the state under that government cannot be censured. They have even deserved praise—those men who have availed themselves of their situations only to defend the national interests, and to oppose the spirit of re-action and counter-revolution which desolated France.

“ The Bourbons themselves had constantly violated their promises: they favoured the claims of the faithful nobility; they disturbed the sales of the national property of all kinds; they paved the way to the re-establishment of feudal rights and tythes; they threatened all new existences; they declared war against all liberal opinions; they attacked all the institutions which France had acquired at the price of her blood, choosing rather to humble the nation than to identify themselves with its glory; they stripped the Legion of Honour of its endowments and its political rights; they lavished its insignia for the purpose of degrading it; they took from their army and the brave soldiers their pay, their rank, their honours, to give them to emigrants, to rebel chiefs; in short, they wished to reign, and to oppress the people, by *emigrants*.

“ Deeply affected with her humiliation and her misfortunes, France called with all her wishes upon her national government, the dynasty connected with her new interests and her new institutions.

“ When the Emperor approached the capital, the Bourbons in vain endeavoured to repair, by hasty laws and tardy oaths, the outrages committed against the nation and the army. The time of illusion was past—confidence was alienated for ever. No arm was raised for

their defence: the nation and the army flew to meet their deliverer.

“ The Emperor, then, in re-ascending the throne, to which the people raised him, reinstates the people in its most sacred rights. He enforces them solely by the decrees of the Representative Assemblies, sanctioned by the nation; he returns to reign by the sole principle of legitimacy which France has acknowledged and sanctioned for twenty-five years, and to which all the authorities bound themselves, by oaths, from which the will of the people alone can release them.

“ The Emperor is called to guarantee anew, by institutions, (and he has engaged to do so in his proclamations to the nation and army) all liberal principles; individual liberty, and equality of rights; the liberty of the press, and the abolition of the censorship; liberty of conscience; the voting of the contributions and laws by the representatives of the nation, legally selected, the national property of all kinds; the independence and irremoveability of the tribunals; the responsibility of the ministers, and all the agents of the government.

“ For the better establishment of the rights and obligations of the people and of the monarch, the national institutions are to be reviewed in a great assembly of the representatives, already announced by the Emperor.

“ Till the meeting of this great representative assembly, the Emperor will exercise, and cause to be exercised, agreeably to the constitutions and existing laws, the power which they have delegated to him, which could not be taken from him, which he could not abdicate without the consent of the nation, which the general wish and interest of the French people make it his duty to resume.”

The day after the publication of this result of the deliberation of the Council of State, Napoleon's ministers presented to him a warm and flattering address, in which the same principles were inculcated, and the same deference to popular opinion was artfully and carefully upheld. On Sunday, March the 26th, before mass, the Prince Arch-Chancellor, in the name of the ministers, addressed him as follows:—

“ SIRE!—Your Majesty's ministers offer you their respectful congratulations. Since all hearts feel a desire
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to manifest their admiration and their joy, we have felt it our duty to deposit our opinions and the expression of our sentiments in the address which I have the honour to present to you.

“ May it please your Majesty to accept the homage of your faithful servants, of those servants so cruelly tried, but so amply recompensed by your presence, and by the hopes attached to it.

“ Sire!—Providence, which watches over our destinies, has opened to your Majesty the path to the throne, to which you were elevated by the free choice of the people and the national gratitude. The country raises again her majestic head. She salutes, for the second time, the Prince who dethroned anarchy, and whose existence can alone consolidate our liberal institutions.

“ The most just of revolutions, that which restored to man his dignity and political rights, has hurled from the throne the race of the Bourbons. After twenty-five years of the calamities of war, all the efforts of the foreigner have not been able to re-awaken affections which were either extinguished or utterly unknown. The interests of a few were sacrificed to those of the nation. The decrees of fate are accomplished. The cause of the people, the only legitimate right, has triumphed. Your Majesty is restored to the wishes of the French; you have resumed the reins of government, amidst the blessings of your people and your army. France, Sire, has for its guarantee, its will, and its dearest interests. She has also the expressions of your Majesty uttered amidst the assemblies that crowded around you on your journey.

“ The Bourbons have not forgotten any thing. Their promises have been broken—those of your Majesty will be kept inviolate. Your Majesty will only remember the services rendered to the nation, and will prove that in your eyes and in your heart, whatever may have been the opinions and exasperation of parties, all citizens are the same before you, as they are before the law. Your Majesty will also forget that we have been the masters of the nations that surround us. This noble sentiment adds to the weight of glory already acquired. Your Majesty has prescribed to your ministers the path they should follow. You have announced to the nation the maxims

by which you desire that it should be governed for the future. We are to have no foreign war, unless it be to repulse unjust aggression, no internal re-action, no arbitrary acts. Personal safety, protection of property, the free utterance of thought, such are the principles which your Majesty has pledged to us. Happy, Sire, are those who are called upon to co-operate in such sublime acts. Such benefactions will acquire for you in posterity, when adulation shall be no more, the title of the Father of the People. They will be guaranteed to our children by the august heir of your Majesty, who will speedily be crowned."

To this address Napoleon replied—

"The sentiments you express are my own. 'All for the nation, all for France:' that is my motto. Myself and family, whom this great people have raised to the throne of the French, and whom they have maintained there, notwithstanding political storms and vicissitudes, we desire, we deserve, we claim no other titles."

During the transactions which we have thus concisely narrated, and which raised Napoleon once more to Imperial eminence, that formidable confederacy which had hurled him from his throne was now again actively employed against him. No sooner had the Congress of Vienna received intelligence of his landing on the French shore, than the allied powers immediately published the following declaration:—

"The powers who have signed the Treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress at Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which has established him in the Island of Elba, Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

"The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil
and

and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

“ They declare, at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the Treaty of Paris, of 30th May 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that Treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled, and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

“ And, although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give the King of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who shall undertake to compromise it.

“ The present declaration, inserted in the Register of the Congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March 1815, shall be made public.

“ Done and attested by the Plenipotentiaries of the High Powers who signed the treaty of Paris, Vienna, 13th of March 1815.”

In order to give effect to this solemn act, four of the principal powers bound themselves, by a new treaty, to bring each of them into the field 150,000 men; and they invited all the powers of Europe to join them against so formidable a confederacy. Napoleon, besides organizing his immense means, and preparing for their attack, thought it important, before he involved France in the calamities of a foreign war, to justify his reason for re-entering that country and claiming the crown; measures which

which alone were the cause which threatened her with so many calamities. This defence stated—

“ 1. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports, and an escort, to repair to the Emperor; but, far from performing their promise, the husband and wife, father and son, were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in family and domestic affections.

“ 2. The security of Napoleon, of his Imperial family, and their suite, were guaranteed (Art. 14 of the Treaty) by all the Powers; yet bands of assassins were organized in France under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders, as will soon be proved by the solemn proceedings against *Sieur Demonbreuil*, for attacking the Emperor, his brothers, and their wives. In default of the success hoped for from the first branch of the plot, an insurrection was prepared at *Orgon*, on the Emperor's route, in order that an attempt might be made on his life by some brigands. The *Sieur Brulart*, an associate of *Georges*, had been sent as Governor to *Corsica*, in order to prepare and make sure of the crime; and, in fact, several detached assassins have attempted, in the *Isle of Elba*, to gain, by the murder of the Emperor, the base reward which was promised them.

“ 3. The duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* were given in full property to *Maria Louisa*, for herself, her son, and their descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was completed by an entire spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, proposition, or sovereignty, and without her consent. And the documents in the office for foreign affairs prove that it was on the solicitations, and by the intrigues, of the *Prince of Benevente*, that *Maria Louisa* and her son were despoiled.

“ 4. *Eugene*, the adopted son of *Napoleon*, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France; but he has had nothing.

“ 5. The Emperor had stipulated for the army, the preservation of their rewards, given them on *Monte Napoleon*. He had reserved to himself first, to recompense his faithful followers. Every thing has been taken away, but

but reserved by the ministers of the Bourbons. M. Bresson, an agent from the army, was dispatched to Vienna to assert their claims, but in vain.

“ 6. The preservation of the property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to the Emperor's family, was provided for; but all was robbed—in France, by commissioned brigands—in Italy, by the violence of the military chiefs.

“ 7. Napoleon was to have received 2,000,000, and his family 2,500,000 franks per annum. The French government has constantly refused to discharge its engagements; and Napoleon would have soon been obliged to disband his faithful guards for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced twelve millions, which they had offered to him.

“ 8. In fine, it was not without a cause that it was desirable by every means to remove from Napoleon the companions of his glory, unshaken sureties of his safety and of his existence. The island of Elba was assigned to him in perpetuity; but the resolution of robbing him of it was, at the instigation of the Bourbons, fixed upon by the Congress. Had not Providence prevented it, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter at the mercy of his enemies, and transported far from his friends and followers, either to St. Lucie or St. Helena, which had been pointed out as his prison.

“ And when the Allied Powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes, to the cruel instigations of the House of Bourbon, condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon liberated the French nation from its oaths; when he himself, and all the members of his family, saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, in their properties, in their affections, in all the rights stipulated in their favour as Princes, in those even secured by the laws to private citizens—what was Napoleon to do?

“ Was he, after enduring so many offences, supporting so many acts of injustice, to consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into with him, and resigning himself personally to the fate prepared for him,

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to abandon also his spouse, his son, his family, his faithful servants, to their frightful destiny?

“ Such a resolution seems beyond the endurance of human nature; and yet Napoleon would have embraced it, if the peace and happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself for the French people; from whom, as he will declare in the face of Europe, it is his glory to hold every thing, whose good shall be the object of all his endeavours, and to whom alone he will be answerable for his actions, and devote his life.

“ It was for France alone, and that it might avoid the evils of intestine war, that he abdicated the crown in 1814. He restored to the French people the rights which he held from them; he left them at liberty to seek a new master, and to found their liberty and their happiness on institutions for the protection of both.

“ He hoped for the nation the preservation of all that it had acquired in 25 years of combats and glory, the exercise of its sovereignty in the choice of a dynasty, and in the stipulations of the conditions on which that dynasty would be called to reign.

“ He expected from the new government the respect for the glory of the armies, the rights of the brave, the guarantee of all the new interests which have been in existence and supported for half a century, resulting from all the political and civil laws observed and revered during that time, because they are identified with the manners, the habits, and the wants of the nation.

“ Far from this, every idea of the sovereignty of the people was set aside.

“ The principle on which the whole political and moral legislation has rested since the Revolution, has equally been set aside.

“ France has been treated by the Bourbons as a revolted country, re-conquered by the arms of its ancient masters, and subjected anew to a feudal domination.

“ Louis Stanislaus Xavier has misunderstood the treaty which alone rendered the throne of France vacant, and the abdication of which alone entitled him to ascend it.

“ He pretended to have reigned 19 years; insulting in this manner the governments established since that time,

time, the people who consecrated them by their suffrages, the army which defended them, and even the sovereigns who acknowledged them in their numerous treaties.

“ A Charter drawn up by the Senate, imperfect as it was, has been consigned to oblivion.

“ They imposed on France a pretended Constitutional Law, as easy to be eluded as to be revoked, and in the form of simple Royal Ordonnances, without consulting the nation, without even listening to those illegal bodies, the phantoms of the national representation.

“ And as the Bourbons have issued Ordonnances without rights, and promises without any guarantee, they have eluded them without sincerity, and executed them without fidelity.

“ The violation of that pretended Charter was restrained only by the timidity of the government; the extent of the abuse of authority was only limited by its weakness.

“ The dislocation of the army—the dispersion of its officers, the exile of several—the degradation of the soldiers, the suppression of their endowments, the depriving them of their pay or their pensions, the reduction of the allowances to the Legion of Honour, the spoil of their honours—the pre-eminence of the decorations of the feudal monarchy—the contempt for the citizens, designated of new under the name of the *Tiers-Etat*—the spoliation prepared and already commenced of the purchasers of the national estates, the actual depreciation of the value of those which were brought to the market—the reinstatement of feudality into its titles, its privileges, its available rights—the re-establishment of ultramontane principles—the abolition of the liberties of the Gallican church—the annihilation of the Concordat—the re-establishment of tythes—the reviving intolerance of an exclusive worship—the domination of a handful of nobles over a people accustomed to equality—this is what the Bourbons have done, or wished to do, for France.

“ It was under such circumstances that the Emperor Napoleon quitted the Island of Elba; such are the motives of the determination taken by him, and not the consideration of his personal interests, which weigh little with him, compared to the interests of the nation to whom he has consecrated his existence.

“ He has not carried war into the bosom of France ; he has, on the contrary, extinguished the war which the proprietors of national estates, forming four-fifths of the French proprietors, would have been forced to carry on with their spoliators—the war which the citizens, oppressed, degraded, and humiliated by the nobles, would have been forced to declare against their oppressors—the war which the Protestants, Jews, and men of different religious professions, would have been forced to maintain against their persecutors.

“ He has come to deliver France, and as a deliverer he has been every where received.

“ He arrived almost alone; he advanced for 220 leagues without obstacles, without combats ; and has resumed, without resistance, in the midst of the capital, and of the acclamations of the immense majority of the citizens, the throne abdicated by the Bourbons, who, in the army, in their household, in the National Guards, in the people, could not arm a single person to endeavour to maintain them in it.

“ And now, replaced at the head of the nation which had thrice already made choice of him, and which has a fourth time designated him by the reception which it has given him, in his rapid and triumphant march and arrival ; what does Napoleon wish from this nation—by which, and for the interest of which, he wishes to reign?—what the French people wishes—the independence of France, internal peace, peace with all nations, the execution of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May 1814.

“ What is the change, then, which has taken place in the state of Europe, and in the hope of repose which was promised to it? What voice is raised to demand assistance, which, according to the declaration, ought only to be given when called for?

“ Nothing has been changed—if the Allied Powers return, as it is expected they will do, to just and moderate sentiments ; if they acknowledge that the existence of France in a respectable and independent state, as far from conquering as being conquered, from dominating as from being subjugated, is necessary to the balance of great kingdoms, and to the guarantee of small states.

“ Nothing has been changed—if, respecting the rights of
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of a great nation, which wishes to respect the rights of all others, which, high minded and generous, has been lowered and never degraded, they allow it to retake a monarch, and give itself a constitution and laws suitable to its manners, its interests, its habits, and its new wants.

“ Nothing has been changed—if they do not endeavour to constrain France to submit again to a dynasty which she dislikes, to the feudal chains which she has thrown off, to the signorial or ecclesiastical prostrations from which she has liberated herself; if they do not wish to impose laws on her, to interfere with her internal affairs, to assign a form of government to her, to give masters to her, to satisfy the pleasure or the passions of her neighbours.

“ Nothing has been changed—if, when France is occupied with preparing the new social pact which shall guarantee the liberty of her citizens, the triumph of the generous ideas which prevail in Europe, and which can no longer be suppressed, they do not force her to withdraw herself for hostilities from those pacific thoughts and means of internal prosperity, to which the people and the chief wish to consecrate themselves in a happy accordance.

“ Nothing has been changed—if, when the French nation only demands to remain at peace with all Europe, an unjust coalition does not enforce it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will, and its rights, its independence, and the Sovereign of its choice.”

We will here close, for the present, the Life of Napoleon Buonaparte; and shall reserve the remainder of this volume for the purpose of hereafter continuing it, under the impression, that, by the termination of this Work, the formidable coalition against him will either have accomplished its avowed object—his dethronement, or its failure will have confirmed him in the full possession of his Imperial title.

In the mean time, to attempt a faithful delineation of his character would indeed be an arduous task; and its accomplishment, we are afraid, would afford but little pleasure to any of his contemporaries. There are few so indifferent to the politics and passing events of the day,

as not to have imbibed a strong tincture of prejudice and partiality; and to these any other colouring than what is suited to their taste would be extremely unwelcome. It must therefore be left to posterity to execute the task of portraying with fidelity the character of this extraordinary personage, when calumny and adulation, friendship and hostility, will alike cease to operate. But, although we might in vain look for any thing like impartiality amidst that mass of abuse which is constantly directed against him, it cannot be denied, by even his most inveterate enemies, that he possesses qualities which eminently fit him for a throne. Many of those actions which throw so great a shade upon his character, and which will unquestionably blacken his memory, may be fairly imputed to the necessity of his situation, and are such as, placed in other circumstances, he would have hesitated in adopting; and many rest upon such doubtful authority, that we should be extremely cautious in receiving them, coming as they do from persons evidently biassed against him. With regard to his genius and capacity, it may fairly be conceded, that he stands pre-eminent; and had his talents been directed to nobler objects than his own personal aggrandisement, he would undoubtedly have ranked among the most illustrious characters of ancient or modern history.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

LIFE OF NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

HAVING at length brought these Memoirs to a conclusion, we shall, according to our promise, resume our account of Napoleon Buonaparte from the period we brought it down to, to his present political annihilation: these latter events of his life are unquestionably more important than any we have yet had to describe, and are doubly interesting to Englishmen, from the share they have had in them, and from the never-fading laurels which, under their renowned commander, they have again acquired.

Besides the public defence in his declaration to the French people, with which we closed the former part of his Memoirs, Napoleon left no means untried, of not only justifying his own ambitious projects, but also of exciting in his favour the enthusiasm of the French people. For this purpose he gave a grand national *fête* in the Champ de Mai. On this occasion every art, united to flattery and adulation, was made use of to inspire the warmest attachment of the country to his cause. In the presence of a vast concourse of spectators, M. Dubois d'Angers addressed Napoleon in the following flattering address:—

“SIRE—The French people had decreed the crown to you; you deposed it without their consent; its suffrages have just imposed upon you the duty of resuming it.

“A new contract is formed between the nation and your Majesty.

“Collected from all points of the empire around the tables of the law, on which we are about to inscribe the wish of the people, in this wish, which is the only legitimate source of power, it is impossible for us not to utter the voice of France, of which we are the immediate

organs, not to say in the presence of Europe, to the august chief of the nation, what it expects from him, and what he is to expect from it.

“What is the object of the league of allied kings, with that warlike preparation by which they alarm Europe, and afflict humanity? By what act, what violation, have we provoked their vengeance, or given cause for their aggression? Have we, since peace was concluded, endeavoured to give them laws? We merely wish to make and to follow those which are adapted to our manners.

“We will not have the chief whom our enemies would give us, and we will have him whom they wish us not to have.

“They dare to proscribe you personally—you, Sire, who, so often master of their capitals, generously consolidated their tottering thrones. This hatred of our enemies adds to our love for you. Were they to proscribe the most obscure of our citizens, it would be our duty to defend him with the same energy. He would be, like you, under the ægis of French law and French power.

“They menace us with invasion! And yet, contracted within frontiers which Nature has not imposed upon us, and which, long before your reign, victory, and even peace, had extended, we have not, from respect to treaties, which you had not signed, but which you had offered to observe, sought to pass the narrow boundary.

“Do they ask for guarantees? They have them all in our institutions, and in the will of the French people henceforth united to your’s.

“Do they not dread to remind us of times, of a state of things, lately so different, but which may still be reproduced! It would not be the first time that we have conquered all Europe armed against us.

“Because France wishes to be France, must she be degraded, torn, dismembered? and must the fate of Poland be reserved for us?

“It is in vain to conceal insidious designs under the sole pretence of separating you from us, in order to give us masters with whom we have nothing in common. Their presence destroyed all the illusions attached to their names. They could not believe their oaths, neither
could

could we their promises. Tithes, feudal rights, privileges, every thing that was odious to us was too evidently the fond object of their thoughts, when one of them, to console the impatience of the present, assured his confidants that *he would answer to them for the future.*

“ Every thing shall be attempted, every thing executed, to repel so ignominious a yoke. We declare it to nations; may their chiefs hear us! If they accept your offers of peace, the French people will look to your vigorous, liberal, and paternal administration for ground of consolation, for the sacrifices made to obtain peace: but if we are left no choice but between war and disgrace, the whole country will rise for war. The nation is prepared to relieve you from the too moderate offers you have perhaps made, in order to save Europe from a new convulsion. Every Frenchman is a soldier: Victory will follow your eagles; and our enemies, who rely on our divisions, will soon regret having provoked us.”

After this speech, and a few ceremonies having taken place, Napoleon spoke as follows:—

“ *Gentlemen, Electors of the Colleges of the Departments and Districts—Gentlemen, Deputies of the Army and Navy, at the Champ de Mai—Emperor, Consul, Soldier,* I derive all from the people: in prosperity, in adversity, on the field of battle, in council, on the throne, and in exile, France has been the sole and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens, I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of realizing the promise given to preserve to France her natural integrity, her honours, and her rights.

“ Indignation at seeing these sacred rights, acquired by twenty years of victory, disavowed and lost for ever—the cry of French honour tarnished—and the wishes of the nation, have replaced me upon that throne which is dear to me, because it is the palladium of the independence, the honour, and the rights of the people.

“ Frenchmen, in traversing amidst the public joy the different provinces of the empire to reach my capital, I had reason to rely on a lasting peace. Nations are bound by treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then all occupied with the means of establishing our liberty by a constitution conformable to the will and interests of a people. I con-

voked the Champ de Mai. I soon learned that the Princes, who have disregarded all principles, who have trampled on the sentiments and dearest interests of so many nations, wish to make war against us. They meditate the increasing the kingdom of the Netherlands by giving it as barriers all our northern frontier places, and the conciliation of the differences which still exists among them by dividing Lorraine and Alsace.

"It was necessary to provide for war. But, before personally encountering the hazards of battles, my first care has been to constitute the nation without delay. The people have accepted the act which I have presented to them.

"Frenchmen, when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and independence of twenty-eight millions of people, a solemn law drawn up in the forms required by the Constitutional act shall combine together the different dispositions of our constitutions now dispersed.

"Frenchmen, you are about to return to your departments. Inform the citizens, that circumstances are grand; that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall return victorious from a contest of a great people against their oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all when she has lost her independence. Tell them that foreign kings, whom I have raised to the throne, or who owe to me the preservation of their crowns, who all during my prosperity sought my alliance and the protection of the French people, now direct their blows against my person. Did I not perceive that it is the country they wish to injure, I would place at their mercy this existence against which they shew themselves so much incensed. But tell the citizens, that while the French people preserve towards me the sentiments of love, of which they have given me so many proofs, the rage of our enemies will be powerless.

"Frenchmen, my wish is that of the people; my rights are their's; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can be no other than the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

After these speeches were concluded, the different orders

orders of the state solemnly took their oaths of allegiance to the Emperor.

However imposing the *fête* in the Champ de Mai might appear, it unquestionably failed in the effect it was intended to produce. The energies of France, which when duly roused have been able to dissipate the most formidable confederacies, were no longer at the disposal of this once idol of the French people. In vain did he promise to govern by the maxims and institutions of a limited monarchy. France, either worn out, or tired with long and bloody wars, appeared indifferent to his cause, and left him to brave the mighty force of his enemies with the only resources which his situation commanded. A short time before he left Paris to command his army, he assembled the Legislature, and addressed them in the following speech:—

“ *Messieurs of the Chamber of Peers, and Messieurs of the Chamber of Representatives*—For the last three months, existing circumstances and the confidence of the nation have invested me with unlimited authority. The present day will behold the fulfilment of the wish dearest to my heart: I now commence a constitutional monarchy.

“ Mortals are too weak to insure future events; it is solely the legal institutions which determine the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people. Our constitution and laws are scattered; one of our most important occupations will be, to collect them into a solid body, and to bring the whole within the reach of every mind. This work will recommend the present age to the gratitude of future generations. It is my wish that France should enjoy all possible liberty: I say *possible*, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government.

“ A formidable coalition of kings threaten our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers. The frigate *La Melpomene* has been attacked and captured in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English ship of 74 guns. Blood has been shed in time of peace! Our enemies reckon on our internal divisions. They excite and foment a civil war. Assemblages have been formed, and communications are carried on with

Ghent,

Ghent, in the same manner as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are therefore become indispensably necessary; and I place my confidence, without reserve, in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

“ The liberty of the press is inherent in our present constitution; nor can any change be made in it without altering our whole political system: but it must be subject to legal restrictions, more especially in the present state of the nation. I therefore recommend this important matter to your serious consideration.

“ My ministers will inform you of the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state, except from the increase of expence which the present circumstances render necessary; yet we might face every thing, if the receipts contained in the budget were all realizable within the year. It is to the means of arriving at this result that my Minister of Finances will direct your attention.

“ It is possible that the first duty of a Prince may soon call me to the head of the sons of the nation, to fight for the country: the army and myself will do our duty.

“ You, Peers and Representatives, give to the nation an example of confidence, energy, and patriotism; and, like the Senate of the great people of antiquity, swear to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!”

But it was not by speeches, however soothing and flattering they might be, that his power and sovereignty were to be established: the sword alone was to decide the awful alternative; and the time was now arrived, when the dreadful appeal was to be made. Having completed his preparations, and chosen his own time for commencing the war, Napoleon left Paris a few days after the meeting of the legislature, which took place on the 8th of June. On the 14th we find him at the head of his army; when he issued an order of the day to his soldiers, appealing to their passions, by reminding them that that day was the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland. He then put his army in motion, and attacked at day-light on the morning of the 15th the Prussian posts established on the Sambre. In the course of the day he
drove

drove them from that river, and made himself master of the ground from Thuin to Fleurus, a distance of about 16 miles, on the Namur road; whilst on the Brussels road he forced back a Belgian brigade to Quatre Bras, about 12 miles from the river. The Belgians, however, being afterwards reinforced, were enabled to regain part of the ground they had lost; but at the close of the day the advantage clearly rested with Napoleon, who established his head-quarters at Charleroi. The result of these contests, according to Napoleon's account, was, a loss of 2000 men to the Prussians, and of only 10 men killed, and 80 wounded, to the French! Advice of these events was not brought to the Duke of Wellington, at Brussels, till the evening, when he instantly put his troops in march. Sir Thomas Picton's division, the corps of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Nassau contingent, reached Quatre Bras about half-past two in the afternoon of the 16th, when they were attacked by the corps of D'Erlon and Reille, and a cavalry corps under Kellermann. The Prussians at the same time were attacked in their position near Ligny. Both the Prussians and English repulsed the French, after a severe contest which lasted till night; but as neither of them had collected their whole force, they thought it proper to fall back on their reinforcements; the former about 14 miles to Wavre, the latter about the same distance to Waterloo; thus keeping up their communication, and being ready either to support each other in case of renewed attack; or to move forward together in pursuit.

The 17th passed without any very remarkable occurrence. Still the plan of Napoleon had failed. He had not been able to separate the British from the Prussians, still less to penetrate between them to Brussels.

On the 18th, therefore, he made his grand attack upon the British army, commanded by the illustrious Wellington, whose dispatches furnish the best account of this awful but glorious affair. He says—

“The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road,

road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher, at Wavre through Ohain: and the Marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

“ The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front, in the night of the 17th and yesterday morning; and, at about ten o'clock, he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonel, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

“ This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the Legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

“ The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry: but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful; and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life-Guards, Royal Horse-Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

“ These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery,

lery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from the attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Euschermont upon Planchenorte and La Belle Alliance had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohaim, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

"I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations."

In this dreadful battle two aides-de-camp of the Duke of Wellington were killed at his side. Of twenty-four British generals, eleven were either killed or wounded: every commander exposed himself throughout the whole conflict; and never was firing more direct or deadly. The French cuirassiers, in particular, committed dreadful havoc by their first attack; but when they came to close quarters, the sabre was found to be more effectual than the long spear. On all sides was seen a total disregard of personal danger; the leaders were mingled in the heat of the battle, like the meanest soldiers. As to Napoleon, he was more than once inclosed among the British troops, and disentangled, as it were, by miracle. He led on the Guard himself to the charge, and seemed to feel there could be no hope for his power but in the absolute jeopardy of his life.

On the termination of this fatal day, Napoleon saw, with all the madness of disappointed ambition, that his hopes were at an end; and he immediately quitted the wreck of his army, conquered, disgraced, and confounded!

On his arrival at Paris, he summoned his ministers, and stated to them explicitly that *his army was no more*, and that he required their assistance in the formation of another. A second edition of the *Moniteur* was published, a measure deemed absolutely necessary in order to satisfy the impatient curiosity of the people as to the fate of the army. The Chambers were immediately convened; and this fatal news being officially communicated to them, they resolved, "that the independence of the nation was menaced;" voted themselves "permanent;" declared that "the army had merited well of the country;" invited "the Minister of the Interior to consult for the arming of the National Guard;" and also invited "the Minister of War and Foreign Affairs to attend the sittings of the Chambers, to answer relative to the state of France." On the following day Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely informed Napoleon that an immediate abdication of the throne of France was expected by the Legislative Bodies. He prayed for a few hours to consider the proposal, but only one was granted; and after holding a council of his ministers, Caulaincourt and Fouché, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, and others, he finally signed his abdication in favour of his son, whom he proclaimed under the name and title of Napoleon the Second. He particularly impressed upon the two Chambers this condition, repeating it to the Chamber of Peers, through Cambaceres, the President—"Remember, I abdicate only in favour of my son!" The following is the form of his abdication:—

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success; and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me.

"Circumstances appear to me changed."

"I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France—may they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power!

power! *My political life is terminated*; and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French.

"The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest I take in my son induces me to invite the Chambers to form, without delay, the regency by a law.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

From this period little is known. In the tumultuous debates which followed in the two Chambers, the Emperor was but occasionally mentioned; all that could be gathered respecting him existing in a number of contradictory or improbable reports. It is certain, however, that from this time he meditated an escape from France, and obtained from his partisans two frigates with that view.

The persons who had attached themselves to his fortunes conducted their movements with the greatest secrecy: the efforts they made use of for his concealment render nugatory any attempt to trace his footsteps; and therefore all that we can state with certainty is, that he left Paris, and arrived at Rochefort on the 3d of July. From this period to the 15th, when he surrendered himself to the British flag, he resided at the house of the Prefect, actively engaged in preparing for his flight to North America. During this interval, with that authority which had now become a shadow, he demanded what he considered might be useful to him from the public establishments, and inclosed in massy packages a quantity of spoil. He appears, notwithstanding, to have lingered at Rochefort much longer than might have been expected—probably with the hope that Fortune, on whom he had so often relied, would again bring round some changes in his favour; and he is even said to have expressed his expectations that the Chambers would recall him. At length, having been informed of the changes which had taken place at Paris, and of the King's entry, he began to make serious preparations to embark, and took measures to ascertain the precise situation of the blockading squadron.

During this interval, the eyes of the whole world were fixed upon Rochefort with impatient anxiety. The British

tish squadron before that port had taken such effectual means to prevent his escape, that nothing less than a miracle could prevent his falling into their hands.

At length, having in vain endeavoured to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers, Buonaparte surrendered himself to his Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*, commanded by Captain Maitland.

It is impossible to describe the public feeling at this important event, in which the British people seemed to receive a reward for all their efforts, and a solace for their long-continued privations.

The intelligence of so important an event was at first received with great doubt; and, owing to adverse winds, four days had passed, during which no accounts were received from the British squadron; and in this short interval of official silence, reports were multiplied; some stating the letters from Rochefort which conveyed the news to be a contrivance, in order to divert the attention of the naval officers, and more completely to favour his escape; others, that a person had actually gone on board the *Bellerophon*, personating Buonaparte, and had deceived its commander. At length, however, doubts and reports alike gave way; for, on the 24th of July, Captain Sartorius arrived in London from the *Slaney* frigate, which had been sent forward by Captain Maitland with his dispatches, and the following official extract was immediately published:—

“For the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, I have to acquaint you, that the Count Las Cases, and General L'Allemand, this day came on board his Majesty's ship under my command, with a proposal for me to receive on board Napoleon Buonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

“Conceiving myself authorized by their Lordships' secret order, I have acceded to the proposal; and he is to embark on board this ship to-morrow morning.

“That no misunderstanding might arise, I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Cases, that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but that all I can do is, to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such a manner as his Royal Highness may deem expedient.”

One account now quickly succeeded another; and the arrival of the Bellerophon in Torbay, together with the following interesting details, were immediately communicated:—

Extract from the official correspondence of the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort.

“ Rochefort, July 17, 1815.

“ MY LORD—I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that the vessel of his Britannic Majesty, the Bellerophon, on board of which Napoleon Buonaparte embarked the 15th of the month, set sail for England yesterday, the 16th, at one o’clock in the afternoon.

“ The ship carries, besides that personage, all the persons who have attached themselves to his fortunes. The list is here added: they were at first divided among the frigates La Saale and La Meduse; they afterwards passed on the 14th, in the evening, to the brig L’Epervier, whence they were conveyed in the boats of the English division, commanded by Admiral Sir Henry Hotham.

“ *List of the principal personages embarked on board the Bellerophon with Napoleon Buonaparte.*

“ Lieutenant-General Count Bertrand, Grand Marshal of the Palace.

“ The Countess Bertrand, and three children.

“ Lieutenant-General the Duke of Rovigo.

“ Lieutenant-General L’Allemand.

“ The Marshal-de-Camp Baron Gourgaud, Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon.

“ The Marshal-de-Camp Moutholon-Semonville, ditto.

“ The Countess Moutholon-Semonville, and a child.

“ The Count Las Cases, counsellor of state, and his son.

“ M. Resigny, chief of a squadron, orderly officer.

“ M. Planat, chief of a squadron, orderly officer.

“ M. Autrie, lieutenant, ditto.

“ M. Schulz, chief of a squadron.

“ M. Pointkorski, captain.

“ M. Mercher, captain.

“ M. Maingault, surgeon of Napoleon.”

[Here follow the names of forty individuals, composing the

the suite of Napoleon, and of the other passengers' embarked with him.]

(Signed)

“BARON BONNEFOUX.

“*To his Excellency the Minister of
the Marine and Colonies.*”

*Report made to his Excellency the Minister of Marine
and Colonies, by the Captain of a Frigate, De Rigny,
specially sent to Rochefort.*

“MY LORD—I have the honour to send to your Excellency a detail of the information which I have collected, relative to the mission with which I was charged to Rochefort.

“Arriving at this port on the morning of the 18th, I learned that Napoleon Buonaparte had sailed for England, in the ship of his Britannic Majesty the *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland, on the 16th of July, at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon.

“My instructions directing me to have official communications on this subject with Admiral Hotham, commanding the English station, I immediately wrote to him, sending at the same time the dispatches of Mr. Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty of England, of which I was the bearer. These letters were conveyed to the Admiral by the Lieutenant de Vaisseau Fleurian, whom your Excellency had joined with me.

“It results from the different communications which I have had with the English Admiral and the Maritime Prefect, that Napoleon, on arriving at Rochefort the 3d of July, resided at the Prefect's house till the 8th. Urged by General Becker, who was charged to escort him to his going on board, and by Baron Bonnefoux, the Maritime Prefect, to avail himself of every opportunity offered by wind and tide, he at last resolved to embark in the boats which waited for him every tide, and went on board the *Saale* at ten at night, dividing his retinue between that frigate and the *Medusa*.

Next day, the 9th, he landed on the Isle of Aix, and visited the fortifications.

“On the 10th the winds were favourable for putting to sea; but the English cruizers and the moonlight left the frigates but little hope of escape.

“From the 10th to the 11th, Napoleon sent in a flag
of

of truce on board the English vessel the *Bellerophon*, Messrs. General Savary and Las Cases. This flag of truce returned on the 11th.

From the 11th to the 12th Napoleon learned from his brother Joseph the dissolution of the Chambers, and the King's entrance into Paris. Up to this last moment Buonaparte had often expressed an opinion, that the Chambers would recall him, whether he wished thus to impose upon the authorities around him, or really cherished that hope.

On the 12th, he landed on the Isle of Aix, with his suite and baggage; and on the night of the 12th two half-decked boats arrived there from Rochelle. It would appear that Napoleon had purchased them with a design of embarking in them, and attempting, under cover of night, to reach a Danish smack, with which it is supposed he had bargained, and which was to wait for him at the distance of thirty or forty leagues. Why he did not avail himself of these arrangements is unknown; probably because they appeared to him too hazardous.

On the night of the 13th he went on board the French brig *Epervier*; and on the evening of the 14th General Becker, who had been parleying on board the English cruisers, having returned, Napoleon caused his suite and baggage to be put on board the *Epervier*.

On the morning of the 15th this vessel was perceived making sail as a flag of truce towards the Admiral's ship; the state of the sea not permitting it to approach rapidly, some English boats came to meet them, and conveyed the passengers on board the *Bellerophon*. On this occasion Lieutenant Jourdan, commandant of the *Epervier*, thought it his duty to ask, and accordingly obtained from the Captain of the *Bellerophon*, a written certificate of the transfer of Buonaparte on board that vessel.

On the same day a frigate on the station weighed and made sail for England.

" On the 16th the *Bellerophon* set sail, at half-past one in the afternoon. The little wind there has since been, together with its direction, do not permit the supposition that he could arrive in England before the night of the 19th.

" On

“ On the 17th, the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort issued to the troops and seamen under his orders a proclamation, which, while it announced the re-entrance of his Majesty into Paris, amidst the acclamations of all the inhabitants, ordered them at the same time to assume the white cockade. The white flag was hoisted on the forts, and on board the vessels in the roads, on the 17th at noon, and saluted by artillery.

“ From the 15th, Baron Bonnefoux had intimated his intention to the troops under his command, of causing these colours to be mounted; but the chief of battalion, commandant of the place, not having then received the orders addressed to the Generals, his superior officers, M. Bonnefoux thought it right to delay till he could act in concert with this superior officer, who speedily received from Major-General Bertrand, commandant of the Lower Charente, orders to imitate the movement of the navy.

“ I must not omit informing your Excellency, that the prudent measures taken by the Maritime Prefect, and by Major-General Bertrand, would have prevented the designs of the ill-affected, if such had existed.

“ Rochefort and Rochelle are animated with the best spirit; and these ports, though the last under the influence of Buonaparte, were not the least forward in manifesting their attachment to the person of the King, and their joy on learning the arrival of our august monarch in his capital.

“ Your Excellency will find hereto subjoined the copy of a letter, addressed by Napoleon to the Prince Regent of England, and which must have reached his Royal Highness by means of the English cruisers.

“ I beg your Excellency to accept the homage of my profound respect.

“ H. DE RIGNY, *Captain of Frigate.*”

Buonaparte's Letter to the Prince Regent.

“ ROYAL HIGHNESS—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people. I claim from your Royal Highness the protection of the laws, and throw myself upon

upon the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.

“ Rochefort, 13th July.”

As soon as the arrival of the *Bellerophon* at Torbay was publicly announced, it became the centre of attraction; and every one manifested an anxiety to behold the man who had devastated so large a portion of the world, and survived such strange reverses. In consequence, numerous parties repaired in boats; and although they were not permitted to come alongside, their number, notwithstanding, so increased, that it was calculated not less than one thousand put off daily.

The situation even of a foe deprived of power seldom fails to excite a feeling of tenderness; and the British warrior loses his ferocity the moment an enemy appeals to his compassion. By the multitudes which were now around him, Buonaparte was beheld with feelings of a very opposite tendency. Some persons and writers desired his instant destruction, without inquiring into those principles of justice which should always guide the deeds of nations; whilst by others he was deemed so corrected by experience, as scarcely to need a restraint—as if a vague oblivious feeling of generosity might wholly pass over the greatest enormities, compromise the most important interests of mankind, and confound those immutable distinctions of right and wrong, which form the basis of society. With a wise moderation, therefore, and yet with becoming firmness, the British government determined on placing Buonaparte in a situation where he might enjoy his own existence, without again endangering that of others; and for this purpose they selected the island of St. Helena.

During the time necessarily occupied by official discussion, and due preparation, Buonaparte continued to reside on board the *Bellerophon*, around which a proper guard was established. The number and eagerness of spectators continued unabated during the whole of this period; and, as every one saw with his own eyes, and formed his own conclusions, the accounts thus furnished were interesting, though extremely various.

From whatever motive, the British government determined that *another* vessel should convey him to the place

of his destination; and accordingly the Northumberland received orders to prepare for that service. Every possible precaution was deemed necessary to prevent the recurrence of those crafty contrivances which have so frequently been exhibited. The vessels employed were therefore instructed to sail off the Start, and to transfer the person of Buonaparte from one ship to the other, at a distance from the shore.

On the 6th, Sir Henry Bunbury, accompanied by the Honourable Mr. Bathurst, charged with the communication of the result of the government to Buonaparte, were conveyed on board the Bellerophon by Lord Keith's yacht. Sir Henry was introduced to the Ex-Emperor; and, after mutual salutations, he read to him the resolution of the cabinet, by which he was informed of his intended transportation to the Island of St. Helena, with four of his friends, to be chosen by himself, and twelve domestics. He received this intimation without any mark of surprise, as he said he had been apprised of the determination; but he protested against it in the most emphatic manner, and, in a speech of three quarters of an hour, delivered with great coolness, self-possession, and ability, reasoned against the proceeding. He recapitulated the circumstances under which he had been forced, he said, by the breach of the treaty made with him by the sovereigns of Europe, to quit the Island of Eba—that he had exerted himself to prevent the renewal of hostilities—but that, when they became unavoidable, and that the fortune of war decided against him, he yielded to the voice of his enemies, and as they had declared in the face of the world that it was against him only that they had taken up arms, he abdicated the Imperial crown of France, in the full confidence that the Allies would be faithful to their solemn declaration, and leave his country to the settlement of their own affairs; then, unarmed, and with a view of seeking an asylum as a private individual in England, he had first sought to be received under the King's allegiance, and under the protection of our laws, and had finally voluntarily put himself into the British power. In this predicament, he felt himself entitled to protest against the measure now announced to him; and, in a long argument, in which he shewed himself to be well versed in the English laws, he

reasoned

reasoned against the act. During this interview he presented the following protest, in which, according to his usual manner, he endeavoured to make a virtue of necessity by laying a stress on his VOLUNTARY SURRENDER!!!

Protest of Buonaparte.

“ I here solemnly protest, in the face of heaven and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, in disposing of my person and liberty by force. I came voluntarily on board the *Bellerophon*; I am not a prisoner—I am the guest of England.

“ As soon as I put my foot on board the *Bellerophon*, I was at the fire-side of the British people. If the government, in giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite, meant only to draw me into an ambush, it has forfeited its honour, and tarnished its flag.

“ If this act should be carried into execution, it will be in vain for the English to affect to talk to Europe of their good faith—of their laws and liberty. British faith will be lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*.

“ I appeal for this to history: it will say, that an enemy, who for twenty years made war on the English people, went freely in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws—what more shining proof could he give both of his esteem and of his confidence? But how did they reply in England to so much magnanimity? They pretended to hold out a hospitable hand to this enemy; and when he delivered himself up to their good faith, they immolated him.

“ NAPOLEON.

“ On board the *Bellerophon*, at sea, August 4th, 1815.”

It is said by Sir Henry Bunbury and Mr. Bathurst, that his manner was temperate, his language eloquent, and that he conducted himself throughout in the most prepossessing way. Sir Henry answered to his discourse, that he had no commission but to make known to him the resolution of his Majesty's ministers; but said that he should faithfully report the reasons that he had stated against the proceeding.

The *Bellerophon* and *Tonnant* having put to sea from Plymouth Sound, it will be proper to explain the statement that they sailed to avoid the service of a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. The facts of the case are, that the concurrence

of boats in Plymouth Sound, and the loss of some lives which had already taken place, induced the government to remove the *Bellerophon* to a greater distance; and the writ which is spoken of was a subpœna from the court of King's Bench, obtained by Mr. Mackenrot, who had a cause pending in that court, in which he desired the evidence of Napoleon and Jerome Buonaparte, and Admiral Villaumez. The officer arrived with this subpœna at the house of Sir John Duckworth a few minutes after the *Bellerophon* had sailed.

The *Northumberland* sailed from Portsmouth on Friday, August the 4th; and, on nearing Torbay on Sunday, perceived two line-of-battle ships approaching her, which proved to be the *Bellerophon*, with Buonaparte on board, and the *Tonnant*, with Lord Keith. In a few hours the *Northumberland* hailed them, and asked after Buonaparte, who, she was informed, had not come out of his cabin for some days. The ships came to an anchor off Torbay.

General Bertrand went first on board the *Tonnant*, where he dined with Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn. At dinner Sir George gave him a general explanation of his instructions with respect to Buonaparte; one of which was, that his baggage must be inspected before it was received on board the *Northumberland*. Bertrand expressed his opinion strongly against the measure of sending the Emperor (as he and all his suite constantly styled him) to St. Helena, when his wish and expectation were to live quietly in England under the protection of the English laws. Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn did not enter into any discussion upon the subject.

After dinner, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn, accompanied by Bertrand, went in the Admiral's yacht toward the *Bellerophon*. Previously to their arrival, Buonaparte's arms and pistols had been taken away from him—not without considerable altercation and objections on the part of the French officers. Those who were not to accompany him were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. They expressed great reluctance at the separation, particularly the Polish officers. Buonaparte took leave of them individually. A Colonel Pistowski, a Pole, was peculiarly desirous of accompanying him: he had received

ceived seventeen wounds in the service of Buonaparte, and said he would serve in any capacity, however menial, if he could be allowed to go with him to St. Helena. The orders for sending off the Polish officers were peremptory, and he was removed to the *Eurotas*. Savary and L'Allemand, however, were not amongst those sent on board the frigate; they were left in the *Bellerophon*.

When Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon*, Buonaparte was upon deck to receive them, dressed in a green coat with red facings, two epaulets, white waistcoat and breeches, silk stockings, the star of the Legion of Honour, and a *chapeau brás* with the three-coloured cockade. After the usual salutations, Lord Keith, addressing himself to Napoleon, acquainted him with his intended transfer from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. He immediately protested with great vehemence against this act of the British government—he did not expect it—he not conceive that any possible objection could be made to his residing in England quietly for the rest of his life. No answer was returned by either Lord Keith or Sir George Cockburn. A British officer who stood near him observed to him, that if he had not been sent to St. Helena, he would have been delivered up to the Emperor of Russia.

Buonaparte.—" *Dieu me garde des Russes!*" (God keep me from the Russians!) In making this reply he looked at General Bertrand, and shrugged up his shoulders.

Sir George Cockburne.—"At what hour to-morrow morning shall I come, General, and receive you on board the *Northumberland*?"

Buonaparte (with some surprise at being styled merely General.) "At ten o'clock."

Bertrand, Madame Bertrand, Savary, L'Allemand, Count and Countess Moutholon, were standing near Buonaparte.

Sir George Cockburn asked him if he wanted any thing more before they put to sea. Bertrand replied, 50 packs of cards, a backgammon and a domino table; and Madame Bertrand desired to have some necessary articles of furniture; which, it was said, should be furnished forthwith.

One of Buonaparte's officers, the nephew of Josephine Beauharnois, his first wife, complained that faith had not been kept with the Emperor, who expected to reside with his suite in Great Britain.

Buonaparte asked Lord Keith's advice. His Lordship merely replied, that he had to obey the orders he had received from his government. Buonaparte then desired another interview with his Lordship. Lord Keith declined it, alleging that it could not but be unsatisfactory—he had no discretion—his fate could not be altered.

An officer who stood near him said, "You would have been taken if you had remained at Rochefort another hour, and sent off to Paris."

Buonaparte turned his eye upon the speaker, but did not speak a word. He next addressed himself to Sir G. Cockburne, and asked several questions about St. Helena. "Is there any hunting or shooting there?—Where am I to reside?" He then abruptly changed the subject, and burst into more invectives against the government; to which no answer was returned. He then expressed some indignation at being styled General, saying, "You have sent ambassadors to me as a Sovereign Potentate—you have acknowledged me as First Consul." He took a great deal of snuff whilst speaking.

After reminding him that the Northumberland's barge would come for him at ten on Monday morning, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn retired.

Early on Monday morning Sir George Cockburn went on board the Bellerophon to superintend the inspection of his baggage: it consisted of two services of plate, several articles in gold, a superb toilet of plate, books, beds, &c. They found but 4000 gold Napoleons; and these were sealed up and detained. They were all sent on board the Northumberland about eleven o'clock.

Buonaparte had brought with him from France about forty servants, amongst whom were a groom, postilion, and lamplighter. Two-thirds of these were sent on board the Eurotas.

At half-past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the Tonnant, went on board the Bellerophon to receive Buonaparte and those who were to accompany him. Buonaparte, before their arrival and afterwards, addressed himself to Captain Maitland and the officers of
the

the Bellerophon. After descending the ladder into the barge, he pulled off his hat to them again. In the barge the following personages were received :

Buonaparte.

General Bertrand and Madame Bertrand, with their children.

Count and Countess Moutholon, and child.

Count Las Cases.

General Gorgaud.

Nine men and three women servants.

Buonaparte's surgeon refused to accompany him; upon which the surgeon of the Bellerophon offered to supply his place.

Buonaparte was dressed in a cocked hat, much worn, with a tri-coloured cockade; his coat was buttoned close round him—a plain green one with a red collar: he had three orders, two crosses, and a large silver star, with the inscription *Honneur et Patrie*; white breeches, silk stockings, gold buckles.

Savary and L'Allemand were left behind in the Bellerophon. Savary seemed in great dread of being given up to the French government, repeatedly asserting that the honour of England would not allow him to be landed again on the shores of France.

About twelve o'clock the Tonnant's barge reached the Northumberland. Bertrand stepped first upon deck; Buonaparte next, mounting the side of the ship with the activity of a seaman. The marines were drawn out and received him, but merely as a General, presenting arms to him. He pulled off his hat. As soon as he was upon deck, he said to Sir George Cockburne, "*Je suis à vos ordres.*" (I obey your orders.) He bowed to Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton, who were near the Admiral, and spoke to them a few words, to which they replied. To an officer he said, "*Dans quel corps servez vous ?*" (In what corps do you serve?) The officer replied "In the artillery." Buonaparte immediately rejoined, "*Je sors de cette service moi-même.*" (I was originally in that service myself.) After taking leave of the officers who had accompanied him from the Bellerophon, and embracing the nephew of Josephine, who was not going to St. Helena, he went into the after-cabin, where, besides his principal companions, were assembled

Lord

Lord Keith, Sir G. Cockburne, Lord Lowther, and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton.

Bertrand said, "I never gave in my adhesion to Louis XVIII. It is therefore palpably unjust to proscribe me. However, I shall return in a year or two to superintend the education of my children."

Madame Bertrand appeared much distressed; said, she was obliged to leave Paris in a hurry, without clothes or any necessary. She had lived in the house now occupied by the Duc de Berri. She spoke most flatteringly of her husband; said the Emperor was too great a man to be depressed by circumstances, and concluded by expressing a wish for some Paris papers.

Count Moutholon spoke of the improvements made by Buonaparte in Paris; alluded to his bilious complaint, which required much exercise.

The Countess Moutholon said little.

Bertrand asked, what we should have done had we taken Buonaparte at sea? "As we are doing now," was the reply.

Lord Keith took leave in the afternoon, and returned on board the Tonnant.

Lord Lowther and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton now entered into very earnest conversation with him; which continued for two hours. As he was very communicative, and seemed desirous of a free conversation with these two young gentlemen, they availed themselves of the opportunity, and entered into a review of much of his conduct. It is understood that they asked him how he came to commit the impolicy of attacking Spain—the motives for the Berlin and Milan Decrees—the war against Russia—the refusal of the terms of peace offered him before the first capture of Paris; &c. To all these questions he gave full answers, not avoiding, but rather encouraging the discussion. At the expiration of two hours Lord Lowther and Mr. Lyttleton took leave of him and went ashore.

His cabin was fitted up with great elegance. His bed was peculiarly handsome, and the linen upon it very fine. His toilet was of silver. Among other articles upon it was a magnificent snuff-box, upon which was embossed in gold an eagle with a crown flying from Elba to the coast of France—the eagle just seeing the coast of France,

France, and the respective distances admirably executed.

The *Bellerophon*, *Tonnant*, and *Eurotas*, returned to Plymouth Sound on Tuesday, leaving the *Northumberland* lying-to off Plymouth on that day, though the wind was fair, waiting for the *Weymouth* store-ship, which was taking in stores, &c. and was to complete them by the next day. The British vessels finally sailed on the 11th of August, with the objects of their charge, for the island to which they were consigned.

The following were the government instructions relative to the manner in which Buonaparte was to be treated.

Letter from Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, to the Lords of the Admiralty.

“Downing Street, July 30, 1815.

“MY LORDS—I wish your Lordships to have the goodness to communicate to Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn a copy of the following Memorial, which is to serve him by way of instruction, to direct his conduct while General Buonaparte remains under his care. The Prince Regent, in confiding to English officers a mission of such importance, feels that it is unnecessary to express to them his earnest desire that no greater personal restraint may be employed than what shall be found necessary faithfully to perform the duties, of which the Admiral, as well as the Governor of St. Helena, must never lose sight—namely, the perfectly secure detention of the person of General Buonaparte. Every thing which, without opposing the grand object, can be granted as an indulgence will, his Royal Highness is convinced, be allowed the General. The Prince Regent depends further on the well-known zeal and resolute character of Sir George Cockburn, that he will not suffer himself to be misled, imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty.

“BATHURST.”

“*Memorial.*

“When General Buonaparte leaves the *Bellerophon* to go on board the *Northumberland*, it will be the properest moment for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined which General Buonaparte may have brought with him.

“The Admiral will allow all the baggage, wine, and provisions, which the General may have brought with him,

him, to be taken on board the Northumberland. Among the baggage, his table-service is to be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money than for real use.

“ His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects, consequently bills of exchange also, of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The Admiral will declare to the General, that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his flight.

“ The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by Buonaparte: the inventory of the effects to be retained shall be signed by this person, as well as by the Rear-Admiral, or by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory.

“ The interest or the principal (according as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangements to be left to him.

“ For this reason he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the Admiral till the arrival of the new Governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is to be made to his proposal, the Admiral or the Governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursement will be paid by bills on his Majesty's treasury.

“ In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and be assured that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed.

“ As an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified, that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

“ The disposal of the troops left to guard him must be left to the Governor. The latter, however, has received a notice, in the case which will be hereafter mentioned, to act according to the desire of the Admiral.

“ The General must constantly be attended by an officer appointed by the Admiral, or, if the case occurs, by the Governor. If the General is allowed to go out of the

the bounds where the sentinels are placed, an orderly man, at least, must accompany the officer.

“ When ships arrive, and as long as they are in sight, the General remains confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed. During this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden. His companions in St. Helena are subject, during this time, to the same rules, and must remain with him. At other times, it is left to the judgment of the Admiral or Governor to make the necessary regulations concerning them. It must be signified to the General, that if he makes any attempt to fly, he will then be put under close confinement; and it must be notified to his attendants, that if it should be found that they are plotting to prepare the General's flight, they shall be separated from him, and put under close confinement.

“ All letters addressed to the General, or to persons in his suite, must be delivered to the Admiral or Governor, who will read them before he suffers them to be delivered to those to whom they are addressed. Letters written by the General, or his suite, are subject to the same rule.

“ No letter, that does not come to St. Helena through the Secretary of State, must be communicated to the General or his attendants, if it is written by a person not living in the island. All their letters, addressed to persons not living in the island, must go under cover of the Secretary of State.

“ It will be clearly expressed to the General, that the Governor and Admiral have precise orders to inform his Majesty's government of all the wishes and representations which the General may desire to address to it; in this respect they need not use any precaution. But the paper on which such request or representation is written must be communicated to them open, that they may both read it, and, when they send it, accompany it with such observations as they may judge necessary.

“ Till the arrival of the new Governor, the Admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the person of General Buonaparte; and his Majesty has no doubt of the inclination of the present Governor to concur with the Admiral for this purpose. The Admiral has full power to retain the General on board his ship, or to

convey him on board again, when, in his opinion, secure detention of his person cannot be otherwise effected.

“ When the Admiral arrives at St. Helena, the Governor will, upon his representation, adopt measures for sending immediately to England, the Cape of Good Hope, or the East Indies, such officers, or other persons, in the military corps of St. Helena, as the Admiral, either because they are foreigners, or on account of their character or disposition, shall think it advisable to dismiss from the military service in St. Helena.

“ If there are strangers in the island whose residence in the country shall seem to be with a view of becoming instrumental to the flight of General Buonaparte, he must take measures to remove them. The whole coast of the island, and all ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the Admiral. He fixes the places which the boats may visit, and the Government will send a sufficient guard to the points where the Admiral shall consider this precaution as necessary.

“ The Admiral will adopt the most vigorous measures to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast except such as he shall allow.

“ Orders will be issued to prevent, after a certain necessary interval, any foreign or mercantile vessel to go in future to St. Helena.

“ If the General should be seized with serious illness, the Admiral and the Governor will each name a physician who enjoys their confidence, in order to attend the General in common with his own physician: they will give them strict orders to give in every day a report on the state of his health. In case of his death, the Admiral will give orders to convey his body to England.

“ Given at the War-Office, July 30, 1815.”

The last official notice is contained in the London Gazette, Saturday, August 26th, as follows:—

“ Foreign Office, August 26th, 1815.

“ Lord Bathurst, one of his Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, has this day notified, by command of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to the ministers of friendly powers residing at this court, that, in consequence of events which have happened in Europe, it has been deemed expedient and determined, in conjunction with the Allied Sovereigns, that the Island of St. Helena shall

shall be the place allotted for the future residence of General Napoleon Buonaparte, under such regulations as may be necessary for the perfect security of his person; and for that purpose it has been resolved, that all foreign ships and vessels whatever shall be excluded from all communication with, or approach to that island, so long as the said island shall continue to be the place of residence of the said Napoleon Buonaparte."

A DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISLAND OF ST. HELENA.

IN the heart of the Atlantic Ocean, 1200 miles from the coast of Africa, and 2400 miles from that of South America, rises, to the first appearance a vast and rugged rock, promising very little of that refreshment to the navigator, or comfort to the resident, which has been afforded for nearly two centuries, under British management, by the Island of ST. HELENA. Its greatest length is about ten miles three furlongs; its breadth, six miles two furlongs; containing about 30,000 acres of pasturage and garden ground. Its circumference is 28 miles.

The general appearance of the country, on a nearer approach, is fine and cheering. The mountains, as the eye gradually distinguishes them, being verdant to the top; and even the immense cliffs, having been made subservient to the security of the island, by fortifications pretty extensively disposed on them, contribute to the interest and respect excited by the plainer view. The anchorage is remarkably safe and commodious: from the south-east the approach is particularly smooth; and though the surfs have sometimes been dangerous in the immediate neighbourhood of so steep a shore, yet the inconvenience has been greatly remedied by the construction of a secure and extended landing-place. On the sides of the mountains that surround the town, run the roads into the country; and branches of these ridges of hills divide the island. The highest part of them is said to rise 2690 feet above the level of the sea. The whole country bears marks of volcanic origin; though, with one slight exception in the middle of the last century,

century, the inhabitants have been undisturbed by any remarkable convulsions of nature ever since the discovery of the island in 1501.

St. James's Valley, in which the town is situated, lies on the N.W. or leeward side of the island. The stranger feels, on landing, a continuation of the respect inspired by the military appearance of the place; being conducted between a line of heavy guns and through an arched way into the town, the rampart or terrace of which is edged by a double row of evergreens, and the whole forms a fine parade. A handsome residence for the governor and officers, called the Castle, now meets the eye, and is surrounded with a strong wall. The church is in front; and three streets of decent, commodious looking houses form the town. They give the heart of the returning voyager a truly English feeling, wearing all the convenience and cleanliness in their aspect he can possibly expect in so remote a quarter.

The population of the island has been pretty stationary at 2000 for the last ten years, exclusive of the East India Company's establishment, civil and military. Of this population, 1100 are slaves, about 300 free blacks, and the rest settlers, principally from England. Since the prohibition of any further importation of slaves, and their kinder treatment, their numbers have been slowly increasing.

A rich mould, to nearly ten inches deep, form the general soil of the country, and nourishes a variety of plants of every clime and origin; but the *cabbage-tree*, *gum-tree*, and *red wood*, are said to be peculiar to the island. Vegetation increases, as you remove from the shore, to perfect luxuriance in the heart of the island. The lands are almost wholly devoted to pasturage (as connected with the large demand for live stock), and the gardens to culinary roots and vegetables. The vegetables and climate have been said to be peculiarly adapted to scorbutic complaints.

The hills abound with springs, which are so widely apart, however, as to furnish no large stream of any kind to the island, and many of them dry up in the long absence of rain. Two of them are said to be a happy exception to this, and rather to enlarge than diminish in the dry season—that at the Briars and in Fisher's Valley. A botanical garden at the country-house of the governor,

is watered by one of the richest of these springs; and a scientific gardener is constantly resident, at the expence of the Company. The water thus yielded becomes more valuable at times than a literal stream of silver would be; for once in about seven or eight years severe drought has visited the island. In 1760, 61, and 62, an extensive mortality ensued amongst the cattle from this cause, preceded by the most dreadful madness. Every expedient that the skill or anxiety of the inhabitants could suggest to arrest the progress of this fearful malady was in vain; nearly all the cattle perished.

The climate of this island is so unusually mild and free from storms, that the most common thunder-clouds are rarely seen. Perhaps there is not a spot upon the earth more nearly suited to the ordinary feelings of our nature, nor a sky at once so serene and temperate. The neighbourhood of the sea always furnishes a refreshing breeze to the island; nor are we to suppose the characteristic mildness and shelter of its harbour renders its numerous visitants likely to be becalmed here. One instance only has occurred of any ship being weather-bound: the wind was at N.N.W. for three weeks early in the last century, and being accompanied with great drought, produced much disease amongst the inhabitants, particularly the blacks. Fogs and damps are found in the mountainous parts of the island, it is but fair to add, and have become the apology for a considerable consumption of spirituous liquors, particularly in wet seasons.

Small quantities of the ore of various metals have occasionally been discovered at St. Helena; but none have yet been worked to any success. A lime-stone quarry, of a very superior kind, was discovered in 1709 at Sandy Bay, and the red wood was used as a substitute for coal in burning it. It has been constantly worked since, and is still abundant.

Excellent fish, to the extent of upwards of seventy different species, are taken on the coast. The lobster, mackarel, oyster, as well as turtle, and a fish called the coal-fish, much like the salmon in flavour, are found in different quantities: the two latter, indeed, possess the very superior relish of being exceedingly scarce; the others abound. Sea-fowl deposit immense quantities of eggs around the island, which are collected in the fall of the

the year, and form an agreeable article of food. There is said to be a fantastic assemblage of them generally on a rock at some distance from the shore, that has been mistaken for a ship under sail.

The cattle are of English origin. Sheep and beasts are seen grazing in every direction, and in no respect degenerated by their change of climate. Their increase has sometimes been too abundant; and the sheep, in particular, were once ordered to be destroyed for a period of ten years, allowing an intermediate two years for the reduction of the flocks. Goats also had at this time (1730) so increased upon the island as to become wild animals, and a sort of common property. The hunting of them was allowed for a certain period; they were then appropriated in flocks, under license from the governor and council, and are now maintained on what are called the Goat Ranges, vested in different persons, as "certain parts of the Company's waste lands," upon which they have "*the right of keeping goats.*"

The origin of the Island of St. Helena has been the subject of occasional speculation among philosophical visitants, and of apprehension to its inhabitants. Practically, we have seen that little fear can be entertained for the future fate of this interesting spot, from its past *experience*. But various volcanic productions and appearances every where found on it certainly afford strong reason to suppose that some eruption of a volcanic character gave it birth. A philosophical description of the island has professedly entered into the question, and may be found in the Phil. Trans. Lond. 1805. But how the present appearances of any part of the globe can furnish certain data of its history, must be very difficult to determine, when we consider the extent to which appearances the most contradictory to all known history, and to other appearances, are every where multiplied. Who could not readily imagine, from the heights at Dover, a separation between the cliffs of that shore and those of Calais to have almost recently taken place? What Englishman of this generation who does not feel, at his fire-side, a happy proof of this being *mere speculation*.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



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